Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje: biography and perception.

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Preface

The purpose of this study is to examine the life and work of the Dutch Orientalist Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (1857-1936) in which I wish to contribute my analysis of him to the history of Dutch Orientalism. I have used a biographical approach as a research tool to portray its historical dimensions.

This master thesis is partly an offshoot of a course called *Political Islam in Eastern Europe and Central Asia* taught by Professor Michael Kemper, at the University of Amsterdam. While pursuing my undergraduate studies at the University of Amsterdam, this course was the reason why I decided to continue with my master's degree because it corresponded with my interest in Turkey. The course examined the history of Islam as well as its historical background, while highlighting the development of political Islam.

As a freshman at the University of Amsterdam I studied the Dutch language and literature and it was during this time that I came in contact with Dutch literary history of the 17th-19th century. There was much attention put to the historical circumstances under which these texts were written. While conducting my studies, the book: *Max Havelaar of de koffieveiligen der Nederlandse Handelsmaatscahppij* (1859) by Multatuli, was a mandatory part of the curriculum as well as literature and poetry from the early years of the VOC in the Indian archipelago.[1] However, while the material was examined for its aesthetic contributions, they lacked any presence of Islam.

In 2006, I attended a presention of a particular issue of *de Gids* on Turkey (2006/December) in *Felix Meritis* in Amsterdam. The opening chapter of this special issue was a reduced article by Snouck Hurgronje's article: 'Young Turkey: Memories from Stambol, 25 Juli – 23 September 1908' ('Jong-Turkije: Herinneringen uit Stambol, 25 Juli – 23 September 1908'). In this article, Snouck Hurgronje summarized his experiences during his stay in Constantinopel in the period of 1908; the Young Turk's years, and what he believed this revolution meant for the

[1] See example: Marijke Barend-van Haeften and Bert Paasman, *De Kaap: Goede Hoop halverwege Indië. Bloemlezing van Kaapteksten uit de Compagniestijd*, Hilversum: Verloren, 2003.

contemporary developments of Islam. The article further ignited a curiosity and deepened my interest in Snouck Hurgronje, and led me to undertake an examination from a Dutch perspective of this topic, with emphasis on Islam.

Islamic populations across the world are under fierce debate for lack of their ability to successfully assimilate to modern society and the Netherlands is no exception with its own Muslim diaspora. If there is something that we can learn from Snouck Hurgronje's writings it is the dichotomy between his ideological views and his personal ideas about Islam. His main interest was in contemporary Islam while he placed an importance on pre-Islamic beliefs and practices. Snouck Hurgronje believed that education of the indigenous population of the East Indies would eventually lead to an easier assimilation (association with Snouck Hurgronje's own words) into the Greater Netherlands but the opposite proved to be true. The newly educated elite found limited opportunities in the Dutch East Indian society; a major disappointment which instead fueled anti-Dutch sentiment. Snouck Hurgronje did not perceive Islamic modernism and reform as a threat to the existence of the Dutch East Indies.

Foremost, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my supervisor Prof. Michael Kemper. His confidence, support, patience and reflection on my e-mails are cornerstones of the manifestation of this master's thesis. Furthermore, I am very thankful to Prof. J.J. Witkam from Leiden University who, while traveling in Uzbekistan, promptly answered my modest mail with an inquiry to read my master's thesis and proposed a meeting. What followed was a valuable and insightful conversation that lasted for three hours.

Finally, thank you to my extended family, especially Annemieke for her friendship and support. During the whole process she has been curious about my topic and a good sparring partner. Last but not least I thank my USB-stick, which survived innumerable times of storage and was always found when I had left it somewhere in the University library.

January 2010, Amsterdam

Introduction

This is a study of Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (1857-1936) as a backdrop to the discourse of Orientalism. Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje was a Dutch oriental scholar and official. Today, there is no complete biography on Snouck Hurgronje. Attempts of a biographical completion has been made by Th. W. Juynboll (1866-1948)[2], who had too much personal admiration for Snouck Hurgronje in order to give an impartial picture of his life. Shortly after Snouck Hurgronje had passed away, A.J.P. Moereels published a brief but well informed biography on Snouck Hurgronje.[3] The publication of the *Ambtelijke adviezen van C. Snouck Hurgronje 1889-1936*, gives us a picture on Snouck Hurgronje's theoretical ideas on Islam in the Dutch East Indies that were intended to be put into practice.[4] G.W.J. Drewes (1899-1992),[5] a student of Snouck Hurgronje and later a teacher of J. J. Witkam (b. 1945),[6] published a biographical description on Snouck Hurgronje in 1984.[7] Lathiful Khuluq wrote a similar review of of Snouck Hurgronje in Indonesian in 2002. Khuluq described Snouck Hurgronje's interpretations on Islam and its relevance to Dutch policies against Islamic movements in the 19th to 20th centuries in Indonesia.[8] Witkam noted in 2006 that it would be ludicrous to attempt to write a biography on Snouck Hurgronje, because it is too complicated. The difficulty is that Snouck Hurgronje spoke about fifteen languages and often used them simultaneously, which hardly qualifies any adherents to understand everything he wrote.[9]

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[2] Th. W. (Theodorus) Juynboll, biographical sketch of Snouck Hurgronje in J. Kalff jr. (ed.) *Mannen en vrouwen van betekenis in onze dagen*, Haarlem, 1902, p. 45-86.
[3] A.J.P. Moereels, Chr. *Snouck Hurgronje (8-2-1857 – 26-6-1936*.
[4] E. Gobée and C. Adriaanse (ed.), *Ambtelijke adviezen van C. Snouck Hurgronje 1889-1936, (*3 volumes, The Hague: Nijhoff, 1957).
[5] He was student of Snouck Hurgronje. In 1935, Drewes was appointed professor at the School of Law (Rechtshoogeschool) in the Indies as successor to Professor Hoesein Djajadiningrat, who had become a member of the Council of the Netherlands Indies. On August 18, 1959, Drewes was made professor of Arabic language and literature. See: A. Teeuw, 'In memoriam G.W.J. Drewes, 28 November 1899 – 7 June 1992', in: *Bijdragen tot de Taal- Land- en Volkenkunde,* vol. 150, no 1, Leiden: KITLV, p. 33.
[6] Jan Just Witkam is professor in the field of paleography and codicology of the Islamic world at Leiden University.
[7] Drewes, 'Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (1857-1936)', in: J. Charité (ed.), *Biografisch Woordenboek van Nederland*, vol. 2, 1985. For reference on Internet see: Institute of Netherlands History >http://www.inghist.nl/<.
[8] L. Khuluq, *Strategi belanda Meulmpuhkan Islam. Biografi: C. Snouck Hurgronje*, Yogayakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2002.
[9] R. Stiphout, 'Snouck Hurgronje: Grootste Islamkenner aller tijden', 2006, p. 90.

Although several articles touched on the topic of Snouck Hurgronje and orientalism, there are only few case studies. However, there have been fierce debates about Snouck Hurgronje's characteristics as a "person, scholar and government adviser".[10] Both proponents and critics have had strong opinions about the accurate portrayal of Snouck Hurgronje. While the adherents[11] exaggeratedly praised him and regarded him as a genius and considered his work as progressive for its time, the critics[12] diminished his achievements as pure orientalist, imperialist and hypocrite. Scholarly studies on Snouck Hurgronje have, until now, mainly expounded the polemics around him. However, there are also scholarly works in which Snouck Hurgronje's persona is the subject.[13] Snouck Hurgronje donated his entire personal library to the State of the Netherlands for Leiden University Library. Shortly after his death the entire library, besides what his widow wanted to preserve, was donated.

In 1957 a student of Snouck Hurgronje, P. Voorhoeve (1899-1996) published an almost complete list of Snouck Hurgronje's manuscript collection in the work *Handlist of Arabic manuscripts*.[14] *The scientific work of Snouck Hurgronje* published by Johannes Pedersen on the occasion of Snouck Hurgronje's hundredth birthday on 8 February 1957, which highlighted Snouck Hurgronje's scholarly work.[15] G.-H. Bousquet and J. Schacht edited a selection from Snouck Hurgronje's scholarly writings in English and French in *Selected Works of C. Snouck Hurgronje* in 1957.

When Snouck Hurgronje's personal papers were donated to Leiden University in 1957[16], this was done under a condition decided by his heirs that they may not be

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[10] M. Kuitenbrouwer, *Tussen oriëntalisme en wetenschap*, p. 74.
[11] See for example: H.W. Van den Doel, L.I. Graf,
[12] See for example: P. Van der Veer and P. Sj. Van Koningsveld.
[13] See: A. Vrolijk, 'Proverbial misunderstandings. The sources of Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje's collection of Egyptian proverbs', in: *Der Islam* 79, 2002.
Ulrike Freitag, 'Der Orientalist und der Mufti. Kulturcontract im Mekka des 19. Jahrhunderts', in: *Die Welt des Islams* 43 (2003), p. 37-60. G.S. Van Krieken, *Snouck Hurgronje en het panislamisme* (Leiden 1984). K. Steenbrink, 'Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (1857-1936) en Atjeh', in Liesbeth Dolk (ed.), *Atjeh: De verbeelding van een koloniale oorlog*, 2001, p. 77-97. Claude W. Sui, 'Die Pilgerfahrt zu den heiligen Stätten des Islam un die frühe Photographie', in: Alfried Wieczorek and Claude W. Sui (ed.), Ins Heilige Land. Pilgerstatten von Jerusalem bis Mekka und Medina (Heidelberg, 2006), p. 40-63 (Source is not consulted). Michael F. Laffan, 'Writing from the colonial margin. The letters of Aboe Bakar Djajadiningrat to Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje', in: *Indonesia and the Malay World* 31, no 91, November 2003, p. 357-380.
[14] "The great majority of Arabic manuscripts in Snouck Hurgronje's collection is of Indonesian origin; some of these also contain texts in Indonesian languages, and many have notes or interlinear translations in Malay or Javanese", see: P. Voorhoeve, Handlist of Arabic Manuscripts*. In the library of the University of Leiden and other collections in the Netherlands*, part VII, 2nd ed., 1980, p. 17.
[15] J. Pedersen, *The scientific work of Snouck Hurgronje*.
[16] Snouck Hurgronje, *Orientalism and Islam. The letters of C. Snouck Hurgronje to Th. Nöledeke*, p. XIII.

published before 1st of January 1997.[17] However, the library of Leiden University permitted Van Koningsveld to consult these letters before the specified date.[18] Research and editions were also published as a basis of material for other archives. In 1985 Van Koningsveld edited and published the letters of Snouck Hurgronje to his oriental colleague and friend Theodor Nöldeke (1836-1930)[19], which are preserved at the Tübingen University. In the same year Van Koningsveld also published the letters of Snouck Hurgronje to Ignaz Goldziher (1850-1921), [20], in possession of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in Budapest.[21] In 1987 Van Koningsveld also published Snouck Hurgronje's minor German correspondences, which are preserved in libraries of France, Germany, Sweden, and the Netherlands[22] and the letters of Snouck Hurgronje to Julius Euting (1839-1913). Van Koningsveld promised in the preface of each of these editions that he was going to publish a volume with notes and indexes, unfortunately this never happened,[23] which is a pity because they could serve as a primary source.

Snouck Hurgronje was an eager publisher, with a comprehensive collection of studies, essays, newspaper articles, and political recommendations - both published and unpublished - to his record. Snouck Hurgronje also published anonymously.[24] Most of his collections of texts are preserved in the library of Leiden University. This collection comprises his complete reference library, his manuscripts, and several of his correspondences, mainly those letters sent to him.[25] Snouck Hurgronje left behind correspondence dating from his student years in Leiden with fellow students to later

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[17] See: De Bruijn and G. Harinck (ed.), *Een Leidse Vriendschap. De briefwisseling tussen Herman Bavinck en Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje 1875-1921*, p. 12 and Snouck Hurgronje, C, *Orientalism and Islam. The letters of C. Snouck Hurgronje to Th. Nöldeke*, published by: Van Koningsveld, Leiden, p. XIII.

[18] See: Snouck Hurgronje, *Orientalism and Islam. The letters of C. Snouck Hurgronje to Th. Nöledeke*, Van Koningsveld (ed.), Leiden: Rijksuniversiteit Leiden, 1985, p. XIII.

[19] Snouck Hurgronje, *Orientalism and Islam. The letters of C. Snouck Hurgronje to Th. Nöledeke*, Van Koningsveld (ed.), Leiden: Rijksuniversiteit Leiden, 1985.

[20] Hungarian orientalist who wrote in German. Studied at Al-Azhar in Egypt. Generally regarded as one of the most important (if not the most important) Orientalists of the 19th century.

[21] Snouck Hurgronje, *Scholarship and friendship in early Islamwissenschaft: the letters of C. Snouck Hurgronje to I. Goldziher from the Oriental Collection of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest*, 1985.

[22] Snouck Hurgronje, *Minor German correspondences of C. Snouck Hurgronje from libraries in France, Germany, Sweden, and The Netherlands*, 1987.

[23] Witkam, 'Introduction', in: Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, 2007, p. 180.

[24] This is confirmed by prof. J.J. Witkam. Conversation conducted with J.J. Witkam on November 10, 2009. See for example: 'Prins Faisal Bin Abdal-Aziez Al-Sa'oed', in: in: A.J. Wensinck (ed.), *Verspreide geschriften van C. Snouck Hurgronje VI*, 1927, p. 465.

[25] Witkam, 'Introduction', in: Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, 2007, p. 178.

years with colleagues and friends.[26] The correspondence may not always reveal an accurate picture, but it does tell us about personal impressions about himself that he wanted to project on to his recipients. The numerous letters bare witness to his extensive network.

In 1992 *Het Historisch Documentatiecentrum voor het Nederlandse Protestantisme* (The Historical Documentation Center for Dutch Protestantism) published 27 letters by Snouck Hurgronje from his correspondence with his friend Herman Bavinck (1854-1921), which are preserved in the Bavinck Archive of the aforementioned Historical Documentation Center.[27] The lack of access to the personal archive of Snouk Hurgronje made a complete publication or editing of correspondences impossible. Since the archive became accessible more sources have been edited. In 1999, a complete edition of the correspondence between Bavinck and Snouck Hurgronje was published.[28] In 2007 Jan Just Witkam[29] published the first Dutch translation of Snouck Hurgronje's *Mekka vol. 2* (German ed. *Mekka. Aus dem heutigen Leben*, 1889). In the introduction, Witkam devotes a comprehensive chapter to the life and work of Snouck Hurgronje drafted in an accessible style and with an extensive part devoted to Snouck Hurgronje's stay in Jeddah and Mecca. It also includes Snouck Hurgronjes correspondence with Pieter Nicolaas van der Chijs.[30] Furthermore, Witkam gives his view on the controversies about Snouck Hurgronje.[31]

In the nineteen eighties curator from the Leiden University Library found in his attic on Rapenburg 61 a collection of Hurgronje's writings and is now safeguarded by Leiden University Library. The condition in which some of the collections of Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje were found was variable. The treasures included manuscripts that Snouck Hurgronje brought with him from the Dutch East Indies, correspondences and other documents. Leiden University Library started a

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[26] See: De Bruijn (edit.), *Amicissime. Brieven van Christiaan Snocuk Hurgronje aan Herman Bavick, 1878-1921*. Amsterdam: Historisch Documentatiecentrum vor het Nederlands Protestantisme, (1992).
[27] De Bruijn, *Amicissime. Brieven van Christiaan Snocuk Hurgronje aan Herman Bavick, 1878-1921*.
[28] De Bruijn and G. Harinck (ed.), *Een Leidse Vriendschap. De briefwisseling tussen Herman Bavinck en Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje 1875-1921*, 1999.
[29] J. J. Witkam is professor in the field of paleography and codicology of the Islamic world at Leiden University.
[30] Van der Chijs had been a resident of Jeddah for ten years and spoke a kind of Arabic. Van der Chijs was honorary vice-consul for both the Netherlands and Sweden (inclusive Norway that then was part of Sweden. Snouck Hurgronje was corresponding with Van der Chijs between 1885-1889. There are about ninety letters preserved from this correspondence. See: Witkam, 'Introduction', in: Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, vol. 2, 2007, pp. 34.
[31] Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, transl. by J.J. Witkam, 2007.

preservation and digitization of the collection Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje in 2007.[32] Today the collection of Snouck Hurgronje is part of the Oriental collection of the Special collection of Leiden University Library. In 1906, Snouck Hurgronje sent his phonograph to Hidjaz and had numerous records made in Jeddah and Mecca. A total of 11 cylinders with slightly less than 23 minutes of Quranic recordings were made.[33] Snouck Hurgronje's audio collection consists of sixteen hours of audio from Arabia and Indonesia.[34]

In the course of 2003 Leiden University Library purchased the collection of the Arabist Guillaume Frédéric Pijper (1893-1988)[35], as this collection came up for auction when his widow passed away. Besides, manuscripts (Arabic, Javanese, Malay and Sundanese), this collection consists of the correspondence between G.F. Pijper and his mentor Snouck Hurgronje. This correspondence covers the period from January 8, 1927 until October 8, 1935.[36] There are many publications that dealt with Snouck Hurgronje indirectly, of which some are fairly extensive. To mention a few, in more or less chronological order: *De Atjeh-oorlog* by Paul van 't Veer (Amsterdam 1969), *Bij Allah's buren* by H.H. Dingemans (Rotterdam 1973), *Islamic nationhood and colonial Indonesia. The 'umma' below the wind* by Michael F. Laffan (London 2003).[37] Willem Otterspeer treated Snouck Hurgronje indirectly in *Utopieën van een onvermoeibaar mens* (Amsterdam 1996), in B.J. Boland's dissertation *The Struggle of Islam in Modern Indonesia* (The Hague 1970) he dealt with the heritage of Snouck Hurgronje's policy on Islam in the East Indies. Jacques Waardenburg dealt with Snouck Hurgronje in a chapter on the study of Islam in Dutch Scholarship in the publication *Mapping Islamic Studies. Genealogy, Continuity and Change* (Berlin/New York 1997).

Orientalism

[32] A. Vrolijk, 'Conservering van de collectie Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje. Islamoloog onder de Moslims', in: *Metamorfoze*, 2008.
[33] *The audio-visual dimension. Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje's documentation of sights and sounds of Arabia*. Lecture held by J.J. Witkam at the Workshop 'Scholarship in action views on life and work of Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (1857-1936)', Leiden, February 16, 2007.
[34] Leiden University Library, 20-09-2009, >http://www.bibliotheek.leidenuniv.nl/collecties/bijzonder/Informatieplan<
[35] Assistant Adviser on Native Affairs (1931-1934; 1936-1937), Adviser on Native Affairs (1937-1942) , professor at University of Amsterdam
[36] E.P. Wieringa, 'Two more charts for the Arabic Ocean', in: *Bijdragen tot de Taal- Land- en Volkenkunde,* vol. 160, no 4, Leiden: KITLV, 2004, p. 555.
[37] Source not consulted.

In 1950 Raymond Schwab published *La Renaissance Orientale*[38], which gave an encyclopedic description of Orientalism roughly between 1765 and 1850. Schwab examined what affection Orientalia had on artists, writers and scholars in Europe during this period. *La Renaissance Orientale* described the enthousiasm and love these intellectuals had for the exotic, mystic and the profound. It was a description of the exchange of cultural features of the Orient by Western culture and society. He concluded that Romanticism could not be understood unless taking account of the great amount of textual and lingustic research made about the Orient.[39]

The first real criticism on Orientalism and Orientalist scholars emerged during the years of decolonization in the early 1960's, and was mounted by people from 'the Orient' who were educated and lived in 'the West'. Through this critique and the following debate, Orientalism as a term was transformed from a fully accepted name of a discipline in the humanities to one of the most charged and contested words in modern scholarship.

The first critique came from Anouar Abdel-Malek (b. 1924), an Egyptian of Coptic Christian origin and philosopher at the University of Sorbonne in Paris, with his article 'Orientalism in crisis' in 1963.[40] Abdel-Malek had a Marxist perspective in his critique on Orientalists. Abdel-Malek introduced the political master-slave relation between the West and the Orient and stated that no longer it was natural that the West would rule the planet and enjoy direct control of their former subjects. The main reason for this crisis was according to Abdel-Malek, the intimate relationship between the Orientalist scholars and the colonial powers, which had made it possible for these scholars to gain access to the material pre-conditions for the subject itself, namely the accumulation and concentration of the treasures of the Orient in the forms of texts and manuscripts, cultural and artistic artefacts in Western libraries, museums and archives. Abdel-Malek wanted to show that Oriental scholars viewed the people of the 'Orient' as objects that were to be defeated and ruled over by the West in the name of

[38] See: R. Schwab, *La Renaissance Orientale*, 1950. Source is not consulted.
[39] Said, *Orientalism*, 1994, p. 19.
[40] Anouar Abdel-Malek, 'Orientalism in crisis'. This essay has been reprinted in A.L. Macfie, *Orientalism: A Reader*.

development and civilization.[41] Therefore he also believed that that Oriental scholarship was doomed at the end of the age of colonialism.[42]

Two years after Abdel-Malek's criticism, the Palestinian historian A.L. Tibawi (b. 1910) at the University of London published the article "English-speaking orientalists", which explicitly criticized the way in which Oriental scholars had portrayed Islam and the Arabic world. Tibawi stated that there was an almost eternal hostility between the Islamic and the Christian world, a historical fact that explained why Oriental studies in the West were initiated in the first place.[43] Because of this religious hostility, the Oriental scholars according to Tibawi formed an alliance with Christian missionaries and therefore evaluated Islam and Islamic societies in derogatory terms. The implication of all this was that it was impossible for Western scholars to adopt a 'fresh' point of view on Islam. Tibawi criticized the Orientalists from a traditional Islamic stance.[44] Following Abdel-Malek's secular-minded Marxist position, the Moroccan historian and novelist Abdallah Laroui (b.1933) criticized Orientalists in his book *L'Idéologie arabe contemporaine* in 1967.[45]

The critique delivered by Edward W. Said (1935-2003) on Orientalism in his publication *Orientalism* in 1978 was both the most complete and the most influential. Said, a Palestinian Arab, was born in Jerusalem, then part of the British mandate of Palestine. He grew up in Caïro, Egypt, at that moment was under British occupation, where his family went when they became refugees from Palestine in 1948. In Egypt he studied at Victoria College[46], a school that was modeled on a British private school. The curriculum at Victoria was focused on history and English literature and it was forbidden to speak Arabic.[47] Said considered English as his mother tongue and first started taking lessons in Arabic in the 1970s.[48] Said earned his undergraduate degree at Princeton, finished his graduate studies at Harvard, and than began to teach

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[41] About Civilization mission to Democracy promotion see: André Gerrits, *Democratie door interventie. De nieuwe White Man's Burden?* Amsterdam, 2006.
[42] R. Irwin, *For Lust of Knowing,* p. 324.
[43] Samuel P. Huntington's *The Clash of Civilizations* (a term originally used by Bernard Lewis), stated that there are inherent cultural divisions.
[44] See: A.L. Tibawi, 'English-Speaking Orientalists: a Critique of Their Approach to Islam and Arab Nationalism', in: *Islamic Quarterly* 8, 1964, p. 25-45 and p.73-88, 'A Second Critique of English-Speaking Orientalists and Their Approach to Islam and the Arabs', in: *Islamic Quarterly* 23, 1979, p. 3-43, and 'On the Orientalists Again', in: *Muslim World*, 70, 1980, p. 56-61. These essays ave been reprinted in A.L. Macfie, *Orientalism: A Reader*.
[45] Irwin, *For Lust of Knowing*, p. 322.
[46]>http://www.lastvictorians.org/history.html<, 19-09-2009.
[47] Irwin, 'Orientalisterna och deras fiender: fallet Edward Said', in: *Om Västerlandet*, 2007, p. 138.
[48] Irwin, *For Lust of Knowing,* p. 281.

at Colombia University and finally became professor of European and American humanities with a specialist in modern comparative literature at Columbia.[49] All of Saids education (in Egypt, Palestine and later in the United States) was Western. Although his education was Western he always kept his awareness of being 'an Oriental'. Said mentioned in *Orientalism* (1978*)* his awareness of the personal dimension and motives behind his scholarly work.[50]

Said was inspired by post-structuralism and until the publication of *Orientalism* his research was focused on deconstructive readings of English literature.[51] The Six-Day War, a three-front-war that took place in June 1967 between the armies of Egypt, Syria and Jordan between the Israelian one,[52] was decisive for the renaissance of Said's Palestinian identity and his future scholarly work. In the summers of 1967 and 1968 Said visited Amman, Jordan and the political cause of Palestine started more and more gain his attention.[53]

With the publication of Orientalism, Said blended his sympathy of the Palestinian cause with his academic capability. According to Said, Western writers, artists and scholarship had since the end of the 18th century constructed a generalized picture of the East as despotic, irrational and stagnant in contrast to the West which was considered to be dynamic, well controlled and rational. Said distinguished the concept of Orientalism in three inter-related meanings. The first meaning is that of academic Orientalism (the field of professional 'Orientalists'), a scholarship that according to Said is characterized by 'latent Orientalism'.[54] Latent Orientalism can be described as the unconscious untouchable certainty about the 'Orient'. The second meaning is that of "imaginative Orientalism" (among others, the work of artists). The third meaning is that of 'Orientalism as the corporate institution for dealing with the orient'. Taken together, 'Orientalism' appears as a 'Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the orient".

According to this Orientalist discourse that Said criticized, the basic content of the Orient is static and consentient and seen as eccentric, separate from the west, backward, sensual, feminine, passive. Its progress and value are judged, in terms of, and in comparison to, the West, and therefore it is always the other, and the inferior.

[49] Said, *Orientalism*, 1994, p. xvi.
[50] Said, *Orientalism*, p. 25.
[51] Irwin, 'Orientalisterna och deras fiender: fallet Edward Said', p. 138.
[52] M. Gilbert, *A history of the twentieth century*, concise ed., 2001, p. 464.
[53] M. Kramer, *Ivory towers on sand: the failure of Middle Eastern studies in America*, 2001, p. 27.
[54] Said, *Orientalism*, 1994, p. 206.

The Western imagination of the orient produced the backward 'other' against which Europe, and later the United States, could define themselves. Latent Orientalism ensures that even with a positive image on the East as: 'the eternal wisdom from the East', there is an assumption of two opposites.[55] *Orientalism* could be perceived in that way that any critical or historical view of any aspect of Islam by any Western scholar reflects a sense of Western superiority and thus a kind of Orientalist discourse. Said's paradigm on Orientalism gave evidence of extreme hypersensitivity that implied that an Orientalist was exclusively a Western person, therefore assuming that there were no corresponding scholars in subjects Oriental within the Orient itself. His paradigm therefore excluded any interaction between East and West, and how such an interaction may have influenced the thought of both.[56]

Furthermore, Said suggested that in the nineteenth and twentieth century, orientalism was inextricably linked to Western imperialism. This 'modern orientalism' was according to Said a western way to control and dominate the Orient, a relation between knowledge about the orient and power. Said made use of Michel Focaults (1926-1984) concept of discourse and Antonio Gramsci's conception of cultural hegemony.[57] Another scholar that inspired Said was Erich Auerbach, a German philologist who developed the fields of comparative literature and history of ideas. During Auerbach's Turkish exile from Nazi-Germany he wrote essays on a wide array of canonical works ranging from Antiquity to modern times that were collected into: *Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature*. *Mimesis* was a study of the 'representation of reality' and Auerbach's interpretation of literary and historical events traced the cultural developments of Western culture and how they shaped its inherited identity. Auerbach showed how texts are not only shaped by historical conditions, but also how they encompass interpretative paradigms within which they perform their own peculiar 'readings' of that reality.[58]

With *Orientalism*, Said wanted to show how particular readings by Westerners encompassed interpretative paradigms on the Orient and Muslims. Basically, *Orientalism* is an account of how a will to interpretation (primarily religious and

[55] Kuitenbrouwer, *Tussen oriëntalisme en wetenschap*, p. 8.
[56] See: E. Said, *Orientalism*, 1994.
[57] J. De Hond, *Verlangen naar het Oosten: orientalisme in de Nederlandse cultuur, ca 1800-1920*, p. 12.
[58] G. Siassi, 'The Endless Reading of Interpretation? Said, Auerbach and the Exilic Will to Criticism', in: *Portal Journal of Multidisciplinary International Studi*es, vol. 2 no: 1 January, 2005, p. 1.

political) set in motion a self-perpetuating cycle of 'Orientalist' representations.[59] Said believed that to be an intellectual in exil was of executive value for critical work as it affords a certain mobility of thought. Auerbach served as an example of the intellectual in exile.[60] *Orientalism* was the first book out of a three part series wherein Said treated the modern relationship between the Islamic world, the Arabs, and the Orient on the one hand and on the other the West, France, Britain and in particular the United States. His second book in this series was *The Question of Palestine*, published in 1980 and followed up by: *Covering Islam. How the Media and the Experts Determine how We See the Rest of the World* in 1981.

Said's critique had great impact on Western scholarship. In the United States *Orientalism* became one of the key texts of new academic disciplines as 'cultural studies'.[61] But his interpretation of all oriental scholars as accomplices of imperialism and colonialism was also perceived as very offensive.[62] One of his fiercest opponents was Bernard Lewis (b.1916).[63] In 1982 the New York Review of Books served as a platform of a heated polemic between the two gentlemen.[64] In America, Orientalism became a bestseller and a canonical text in the field of cultural and post-colonial studies. The sharpest criticism of *Orientalism* emerged in Europe.[65] Historians attached Said's understanding of Orientalism for that it was too much a homogeneous and monolithic construction. The critics held that Said treated the West the same way as he said the West treated the East, namely by reducing and generalizing a great area with heterogeneous cultures to some set essences. Said's image of (parts) of the East by Westerns scholars was as much an imaginative picture and negative construction of the West. In fact, the critics blamed Said for Occidentalism. His picture of the West was too one-sided, stereotyped and inadequate, as it did not account for differences and nuances in the Western discourse. Said had removed chronology and geography from his presentation and critical voices suggested that the analysis of Orientalism

[59] Siassi, 'The Endless Reading of Interpretation? p. 15.
[60] Siassi, 'The Endless Reading of Interpretation? p. 1.
[61] De Hond, *Verlangen naar het Oosten,* p. 13.
[62] For example the scholar Albert Hourani, see: De Hond, *Verlangen naar het Oosten,* p. 370. Other scholars were Maxime Rodinson, Jacques Berque and W. Mongomery Watt. The work of these scholars is not consulted.
[63] Bernard Lewis is also not undisputed. Since the 1960's he has published historical studies on Turks, Arabs and Islam and influenced many students and a wider public with his work. He was criticized for being a sionist and for having (too) close relations to neo-conservatives in the United States. See: Irwin, 'Orientalisterna och deras fiender: fallet Edward Said', in: *Om Västerlandet*, p. 138.
[64] De Hond, *Verlangen naar het Oosten,* p. 13.
[65] Kramer, *Ivory towers on sand: the failure of Middle Eastern studies in America*, p. 41.

had to pay more attention to changes through time, the role of individuals, socio-political contexts and national differences.[66]

From the nineties to the present day, several significant and useful publications have been puplished. Just to mention a few of them: the British historian John Mackenzie pointed out with his publication *Orientalism: history, theory and the arts* in 1995 that the development of Orientalism and the arts were not paralleled with European imperialism. Mackenzie, who is a colonial historian, also added that the imperial culture was not at all that homogeneous as Said suggested. In contrary, according to Mackenzie, the imperial culture was unstable, non-static and contradictory. Mackenzie also accused Said for wavering between truth and ideology and remarked his lack of theoretical consistency. Gender studies also criticized Said for his homogeneous paradigm. Billie Melman published *Women's Orients: English Women and the Middle East, 1718-1918: Sexuality, religion and work* (1992)[67] wherein she pointed out that the discourse of Orientalism was exclusively of and about white men. Melman's contribution added a lot more complexity to the discourse. Valerie Kennedy published *Edward Said: a critical introduction* (2000)[68], the American scholar Martin Kramer published *Ivory towers on sand: the failure of Middle Eastern studies in America* (2001)[69], A.L. Macfie published *Orientalism* (2002) and most recently, Robert Irwin published: *For lust of knowing: the Orientalists and their enemies* (2006).

However, the subject of the Western image of Islam was not new. In *Islam and the West: The making of an Image*[70], Norman Daniel explored the religious and political considerations behind distorted Western views of Islam since the medieval period.[71] Another critical voice on this topic was R.W. Southern who, in his *Western Views of Islam in the Middle Ages,*[72] was not lenient on the existing stereotypes of Islam and Muslims. In *L'Islam dans le miroir de l'Occident,* published 1961, Jacques Waardenburg examined five oriental scholars: I. Goldziher, C.H. Becker (1876-1933), D.B. Macdonald (1863-1943), Louis Massignon (1883-1962) and Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje as creators of an image of Islam. Waardenburg concluded that these

[66] De Hond, *Verlangen naar het Oosten,* p. 13.
[67] Source is not consulted.
[68] Source is not consulted.
[69] Source is not consulted.
[70] N. Daniel, *Islam and the West: the making of an image.*
[71] D. Waines, *An introduction to Islam*, p. 299.
[72] R.W. Southern, *Western views of the Islam in the Middle Ages, 1962*.

scholars were part of the same intellectual and methodological tradition.[73] And in 1978, the same year as the publication of *Orientalism*, Bryan S. Turner published *Marx and the end of Orientalism,* a sociological analysis wherein he argued for a Marxist perspective on the Middle East.

Professor W. Ph. Colhaas (1899-1981)[74] represented an opposite view to the aforementioned publications. In 1960 he published: *A critical survey of studies on Dutch Colonial History*. Coolhaas wanted to point out the importance of the Dutch Colonial history, and in order to reach as many readers as possible he wrote in English. Coolhaas wanted to highlight the, according to him, unrecognized greatness of the Dutch colonial history. Coolhaas said that the war in Aceh, which started in 1873, was fair because of the piracy by the people there and that Aceh's fierce Moslim population needed to be subjugated to the Netherlands. Coolhaas called Snouck Hurgronje "the very able expert on Islam",[75] and the advice that Snouck Hurgronje gave on Aceh he described as "sound".[76]

The academic field of Oriental Studies embraces both languages as well as the intellectual and material culture of the Orient. It is an interdisciplinary academic field and therefore attracts scholars with a background from such diverged disciplines as theology, the humanities, and social sciences. Until World War II, the orientalist was considered to be a 'generalist', with some great deal of specific knowledge, of course.[77] According to Said, English and French oriental scholarship relied partly on access to territories where their countries where present. German oriental scholarship, in contrary, he suggests was primarily 'scholarly', as there was no colonial presence of German in India, the Levant, and North Africa. Said ascertained that the German Orientalists did share the "*intellectual* authority"[78] with their English and French colleagues over the orient within the western culture.[79] But the claim that German Oriental scholarship was based solely on imperial empires as the British and French is not sustainable as there are no British and French forerunners to the German scholars of the nineteenth century. Since 1885 Germany in fact had colonies in Northern

[73] See: J. Waardenburg, *L'Islam dans le miroir de l'Occident, 1961.* Source is not consulted.
[74] W. Ph. Coolhaas, colonial official, employee at the Royal Tropical Institute (KIT) in Amsterdam and professor in Utrecht (1955-1967).
[75] Coolhaas, *A critical survey of studies on Dutch colonial history,* p. 105.
[76] Coolhaas, p. 105.
[77] Said, *Orientalism*, 1994, p. 255.
[78] Said, p. 19.
[79] Said, p. 19.

Africa with a partly Muslim population. Besides, also German scholars set off on expeditions to the Levant. Dutch oriental scholarship also relied on its access to Oriental territories, mainly Dutch East Indies.

However, before 1885 and the 'scramble of Africa, Germany was in the absence of concrete political power in the form of territorial conquest and colonization and were German intellectuals engaged in a successful run up for cultural and intellectual domination of Western Europe. While the British were engaged with India, German sought for a way to free themselves from the French. The German 'romantic' intellectuals rejected the French Enlightenment and French Classicism.[80]

Said restricted his argument in *Orientalism* to the Arab heartland, thus he left out any discussion on either Persian or Turkish studies, Russia and both the Far East and the Arab lands in North Africa were neglected. Said justified this absence by stating that one can discuss the Near Orient and its relation to Europe without those parts but the reverse would not be possible. Said admitted that *Orientalism* does not do justice to the importance of German, Italian, Spanish, Russian and Portuguese Oriental scholarschip, but still held on to British-French and American material as the first two were the pioneer nations in the orient and in Oriental studies according to him and since World War II the American Oriental postition fitted in the "places excavated by the two earlier European powers".[81] Said also considered "that the sheer quality, consistency, and mass of British, French, and American writing on the Orient lifts it above the doubtless crucial work done in Germany, Italy, Russia and elsewhere." [82]

England, France and America are central in *Orientalism*. However, Said devoted several pages to discuss Snouck Hurgronje. In *Covering Islam* Said mentioned Snouck Hurgronje as an example of the Orientalist *par exellence* and gave as an example for this that Snouck Hurgronje cooperated with the Dutch colonial office and used the confidence he had won among Muslims for his advice for a solution to the Aceh War.[83] Said got notified about this history of Snouck Hurgronje by one Jonathan Beard who brought him aware of an article in the Dutch newspaper

[80] S. Roche-Mahdi, 'The Cultural and Intellectual Background of German Orientalism', in: A. Nanji (ed.), *Mapping Islamic Studies. Genealogy, Continuity and Change*, 1997, p. 108.
[81] Said, *Orientalism*, 1994, p. 17.
[82] Said, p. 17.
[83] Said, *Covering Islam*, p. xvii.

NRC Handelsblad, published on December 12, 1979.[84] The article in question was a report of research done on Snouck Hurgronje by Professor Van Koningsveld of the Theological Faculty of Leiden University.[85]

In 2003, Ulrike Freitag (b. 1962)[86] questioned in her article 'Der orientalist und der Mufti: Kulturkontakt im Mekka des 19. Jahrhunderts' if it is justified to reduce Snouck Hurgronje to be merely an orientalist, as she think Edward Said did.[87] Freitag stressed that Snouck Hurgronje was both official and scholar. Freitag thought that the exclusive focus on the colonial context hid and denied that misunderstandings existed within the discipline. When those who put the focus on the colonial context attributed disagreements between for example a Meccan Mufti and Snouck Hurgronje to be of colonial nature, they forgot to take cultural differences into account, which maybe was the cause of misunderstandings in such a case.[88] Freitag also noted that through Snouck Hurgronje's acculturation, first in Mecca and later in the East Indies, his *verstehen* expanded considerably and according to her this is of great value.[89] Freitag concluded that by merely study Snouck Hurgronje in the context of orientalism, a lot of knowledge is being undermined. Freitag insisted that both sides of his work have to be taken into consideration and that also people with whom he worked get examined.[90]

Since the first Orientalist congress in 1873 in Paris, Oriental scholars were certainly aware of each other's work. Some Oriental scholars kept correspondence and debates among the scholars were conducted in journals. Said stressed that the late nineteenth-century Oriental scholars were bound to each other politically and Snouck Hurgronje was a prototype of this Oriental scholarship as he combined his scholarship with being an adviser of the Dutch Government.[91] Said made a distinction between the *reason* given by Oriental scholars from the period before and after World War I for seeing the essential orientality of the Orient. Said noted that for Snouck Hurgronje, who belonged to the prewar scholars, the distinction between the Orient and the Occident was signified by the essential, historical power relationship. In the

[84] P. Marijnis, 'De dubbelrol van een Islam-Kenner', in: *NRC Handelsblad*, December 12 , 1979.
[85] Said, *Covering Islam*, p. 165.
[86] Ulrike Freitag, professor Islamic Studies at Freie Universität in Berlin.
[87] Freitag,'Der orientalist und der Mufti: Kulturkontakt im Mekka des 19. Jahrhunderts', p. 38.
[88] Freitag, p. 57.
[89] Freitag, p. 56.
[90] Freitag, p. 60.
[91] Said, *Orientalism*, 1994, p. 210.

prewar period it was still assumed that the Orient was in need of Western enlightenment and European suzerainty was taken for granted.[92]

Orientalism was first in 2005 translated into Dutch.[93] However, Edward Said visited the Netherlands in 1981, when he gave a lecture in Amsterdam in which he proposed 'antithetical knowledge'.[94] In *Covering Islam: how the media and the experts determine how we see the rest of the world*, published in 1981, Said explained 'antithetical knowledge' as 'knowledge' that is produced by people who are aware of the prevailing orthodoxy but consciously oppose it in their writing. This conscious 'people' were young scholars, scholars who did not belong to the 'establishment' of Middle East studies and non-experts as intellectuals, writers and activists. These people needed to frequently ask *how* and *for what reason* they were studying Islam. According to Said, these people understood that the 'orthodox' scholarship was unable to produce value-free objectivity and its political meanings.[95]

Verlangen naar het Oosten: Oriëntalisme in de Nederlandse cultuur, ca 1800-1920, written by Jan De Hond, is the first comprehensive monograpic study on Orientalism in Dutch culture. De Hond doesn't believe that there is one dominant discourse that explains everything about Dutch Orientalism. De Hond don't use the term Orientalism in the sense of Said's discourse but rather as "the Western perception and representation of the Orient".[96] There are no comprehensive monographic studies on Dutch scholarly Orientalism in the nineteenth and early twentieth century published.[97] However, in the publication: *Mapping Islamic Studies. Genealogy, Continuity and Change* (Berlin/New York 1997) there is a chapter devoted to Islamic Studies in Dutch Scholarship.[98]

In the current Dutch debate on Islam it seems as if Islam is a recent phenomenon in the Netherlands. This is true if one merely looks at the Muslim immigration from Turkey and Morocco, when however, in a broader historical

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[92] Said, *Orientalism*, p. 257.
[93] Said, *Oriëntalisten*, (transl. from English by Wiecher Hulst), with an afterword by Sjoerd De Jong, 2005.
[94] W. Otterspeer, 'The ethical imperative', in: *Leiden Oriental Conncetions 1850-1940,* W. Otterspeer (ed.), Leiden: Brill, 1989, p. 5.
[95] Said, *Covering Islam: how the media and the experts determine how we see the rest of the world*, p. 149.
[96] De Hond, *Verlangen naar het Oosten,* p.18.
[97] De Hond, p. 370.
[98] Waardenburg, Jacques' Islamic Studies in Dutch Scholarship', in: A. Nanji (ed.), *Mapping Islamic Studies. Genealogy, Continuity and Change*, p. 68.

perspective, the Netherlands– as other West-European countries such as England and France – had through the Dutch East India Company (Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie; VOC) since beginning of the seventeenth century to do with Islamic subjects.[99] VOC was established in 1602 and was a business firm. VOC became the greatest multinational in that time and the then world. VOC had trading posts in Jemen, South Africa, Ceylon (Sri Lanka) and Japan just to mention few of them. However, Batavia was the main junction of all VOC's trading activities.[100] VOC persisted until 1795. In that year the assets and liabilities of VOC was taken over by the state (the Batavian Republic).[101]

When the VOC first arrived to Southeast Asia, they captured the Portuguese enclave of Ambon in 1605. By 1623 they had asserted supremacy in the Moluccas. But meanwhile the VOC also searched for a suitable base in the Indian Archipelago.[102] In 1610 the VOC appointed its first governor-general, Pieter Both, on East Java. Both, a former servant of the Dutch East India Company was stationed in Banten and kept this position between 1610 and 1614.[103] In 1619 Jan Pieterszoon Coen became the governor-general of the VOC in the East Indies. The governor-general formally was employed by the VOC but acted on behalf of the States-General (Staten-Generaal) of the Republic of the Dutch Republic (Republiek der Zeven Verenigde Nederlanden).[104] Coen was in favor of a more militant stance in order to secure the monopoly on trade, and he moved the central administration of the VOC from Banten to the more strategically located Batavia.[105] Coen drove the British from the Indian archipelago, which was the main rival.[106]

During the seventeenth century the VOC established a monopoly system of trade. They closed contracts with local rulers for the supply of valued products such as spices. In order to address the issues of security and stability of their trade system, they started to intervene in regions in conflict and eventually got more and more Javanese states under their control. By 1772 the VOC had extended some form of

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[99] See: *Hof en handel: Aziatische vorsten en de VOC 1620-1720: opgedragen aan Jurrien van Goor*, Elsbeth Locher-Scholten and Peter Rietbergen (ed.), Leiden: KITLV, 2004.
[100] C. Fasseur, De weg naar het paradijs en andere Indische geschiedenissen, 1995, p. 7.
[101] Fasseur, p. 30.
[102] G.P. Means, *Political Islam in Southeast Asia*, 2009, p. 39.
[103] L.P. Van Putten, *Ambitie en onvermogen. Gouverneurs-generaal van Nederlandse-Indië 1610-1796*, 2002, p. 27.
[104] Van Putten, p. 8.
[105] Van Putten, p. 41.
[106] Fasseur, De weg naar het paradijs en andere Indische geschiedenissen, p. 8.

control across whole Java. Some states were allies of the VOC and benefited from their system, while others were excluded and became objects of police actions and supervision. The allied native rulers made agreements with the VOC such as shared profit of trade and also got protection by VOC forces to protect their claim of rulership. In Banten there was an early opposition to the Dutch presence of VOC.[107] The key to the power of the VOC was to maintain the loyalty of the royal houses and their indigenous aristocracy.[108]

The Dutch East Indies has its origin from after the bankruptcy of the VOC in 1795. From 1795 the Dutch East Indies stood under the authority of the Batavian Republic. First in the beginning of the 19th century the 'Dutch' state started managing assets in the Indian archipelago.[109] In 1830 the governor-general Van den Bosch created the Culture system (Cultuurstelsel) on Java. The Culture system relied on forced labor of the indigenous and the non-European population on Java for the cultivation of tropical crops. Local regents were enabled for the organization and the cultivation of tropical export crops.[110] The culture system lasted until 1870.[111]

The former Dutch overseas territories of Indonesia and Surinam are part of the postcolonial world.[112] The postcolonial Dutch state shares with the colonial one that both are trying to make Muslims modern citizens. Snouck Hurgronje argued for secularity in the East Indies. A secular doctrine implies freedom of religious practice and that the state does not bother with the charachteristics of religion and hence makes organization among religious groups possible, therefore the effect of such a doctrine can be the opposite than the desired one. Snouck Hurgronje wanted religion to be removed from the public to the private sphere, but he thought that the power of the state should be used in order to liberate the Muslims in the East Indies from their 'backwardness'. Snouck Hurgronje believed that elevation achieved by education of the population in the Indies would lead to modernisation that would make *association*[113] of the Indies and the Netherlands possible.[114] Snouck Hurgronje did

[107] Means, *Political Islam in Southeast Asia*, p. 39.
[108] Means, p. 42.
[109] Fasseur, De weg naar het paradijs en andere Indische geschiedenissen, 1995, p. 7.
[110] Fasseur, p. 34.
[111] Fasseur, p. 252.
[112] P. Van der Veer, *Islam en het 'beschaafde' Westen. Essays over de 'achterlijkheid' van religies*, 2002, p. 187.
[113] Today we would not speak about *association* but about *integration* (C.C.).
[114] Snouck Hurgronje, *Nederland en de Islam*, reissued 2nd edition Leiden: Brill, 1915, p. 85. For summary see also: P. Van der Veer, *Islam en het 'beschaafde' Westen*, p. 189.

not foresee that it was Islamic organisations, inspired by democratization and nationalism and not of a return to a middle age version of the caliphate, which had a leading rol in the increased political participation of citizens in the Dutch East Indies that finally led to the independence of Indonesia.[115]

Can Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje be considered an orientalist according to the definition of Edward Said? This thesis consists of two chapters. The first chapter provides a critical biography of Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje. It intends to both be a personal life sketch as an overview of his work and ideas. Furthermore his interpretation and ideas on Islam will be positioned against their scholarly and political influence. Chapter two takes up the critics about him. The focus will be on the debate on him that started in 1979 in the Netherlands. The thesis ends with a conclusion, summing up the main results of this study. The material for this study depends on both secondary literary researche and primary sources as writings, essays, and correspondences by Snouck Hurgronje. This thesis has the intention to lay the foundation for further research.

[115] Van der Veer, *Islam en het 'beschaafde' Westen,* p. 194.

Part I
Biography on Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje

1. 1857 - 1884

1.1 Family and education

The story of Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje starts in the village Oosterhout in the province of Brabant, located right beneath the river Maas in southern Netherlands, where he was born in 1857.[116] Christiaan was the offspring of the second marriage of his father Jacob Julianus Snouck Hurgronje (1812-1870) with Anna Maria de Visser (1819-1892), who was the daughter of a colleague to Snouck Hurgronje Sr. His father already had five children from his first marriage with Anna M. van Adrichem[117] and the sixth was on its way when he decided to leave his family and continue his life with Ms. De Visser. The two lovers first left for England. Snouck Hurgronje Sr. was a preacher of the Dutch Reformed church (in Dutch: Nederlandse Hervormde kerk or NHK) in Tholen in the province of Zeeland. On 3rd of May 1849, his 'mistake' was discovered and he was immediately relieved from his office because of adultery as he was not yet divorced.[118] Moreover, he also had cast a slur on the name of his significant gender and therefore became socially isolated.[119] The name Hurgronje (Hurgroigne) comes from the county of Artois, today a part of contemporary France. The family Hurgronje, then merchants, migrated to Vlissingen mid 17th century.[120] Soon their first daughter Anna Maria de Visser (1849-1931)[121] was born, and shortly after, their second daughter Jacqueline Julie de Visser (1850-1926).[122]

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[116] C.E.G. Ten Houte de Lange, *Familiefonds Hurgronje 1767-1992,* p. 328.
[117] Ten Houte de Lange, *Familiefonds Hurgronje,* p. 286.
[118] Witkam, 'Introduction', in: Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, 2007, p. 15.
[119] Genealogical details can be found in C.E.G. Ten Houte de Lange, *Familiefonds Hurgronje 1767-1992*. The illegitimate children are not listed here, p. . See also: De Bruijn and G. Harinck, *Een Leidse Vriendschap. De briefwisseling tussen Herman Bavinck en Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje 1875-1921*, p. 7.
[120]See: W.J.J.C. Bijleveld, *Opmerkingen over de geslachten, behandeld in het Nederland's Adelsboek met aanhangsel "Veertig jaren Nederland's Adelsboek*, The Hague W.P. Stockum, 1949.
[121] The sources contradict each other about Anna-Maria's birthplace. Source 1: In the introduction of Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, 2007, Witkam says Rotterdam, The Netherlands, p. 15. Source 2: Van Koningsveld, (1987), p. 249 says Chilham, England. De Bruijn and Harinck (ed.), *Een Leidse Vriendschap. De briefwisseling tussen Herman Bavinck en Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje 1875-1921*, cites Van Koningsveld, p. 90.
[122] Source 1: Van Koningsveld (1987) says that Jacqueline Julie's birthplace is Mechelen, p. 249. Van Koningsveld doesn't mention which country, as he does with the birthplace of Anna-Marie, therefore we assume that it is Mechelen in The Netherlands and not in Belgium. Source 2: Witkam, 'Introduction', in: Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, 2007, doesn't mention the birthplace at all, p. 16.

After his first wife had passed away on October 23, 1854, Snouck Hurgronje Sr. was able to marry with Ms. De Visser. The marriage took place on January 31, 1855 in the village Terheijden in the province of Brabant.[123] After their marriage Snouck Hurgronje Sr. could the following year resume his role as 'God's servant'. Only in 1867 Ms. De Visser was accepted as member of the Dutch Reformed church, after a second re-confession in public.[124] Her first re-confession took place in Tholen, the second one in Oosterhout where they had settled down.[125]

At the time of marriage they already had two children together. Because the two daughters were both illegitimate, they had to keep their mothers' name. The younger of the two never got married and therefore she kept her mothers' name throughout her entire life. On the tomb at Groenesteeg cemetery in Leiden, where Jacqueline Julie is buried together with Christiaan, Anna Catharina and their mother, her surname is not mentioned.[126] A third child, their first legal one, named Christina was born in 1855, but died a year later.

The new family settled down in Oosterhout in 1856 and soon after their first and only son, Christiaan was born.[127] He would also have one more sister; Anna Catharina, 'Catootje' (1859-1881), who would however die in her early twenties. At the age of thirteen, their father passed away and Christiaan was left with the care of his mother and siblings.[128] He followed preparatory education (de hogere burgerschool; hbs) in Breda, and aside from that he also studied classical languages at a 'Latin school', which was a precondition for entering university.[129]

In 1874, Snouck Hurgronje moved to Leiden, together with his mother, and his 2 sisters Jacqueline and Catharina, and settled down at the Hooigracht 87. His oldest sister Anna Maria was now married and his mother soon got remarried. The same year he started to study for the degree of candidate of Theology and the Arts at

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[123] Witkam, 'Introduction', in: Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, 2007, p. 15.
[124] Witkam, p. 16.
[125] Van Koningsveld, 'Snouck Hurgronje zoals hij was (2)', in: *Snouck Hurgronje en de Islam. Acht artikelen over leven en werk van een oriëntalist uit het koloniale tijdperk*, 1987, p. 95.
[126] In the correpondence with family Goldziher, Jacqueline signed with: Jacqueline Snouck Hurgronje. See: Snouck Hurgronje, *Scholarship and friendship in early Islamwissenschaft: the letters of C. Snouck Hurgronje to I. Goldziher from the Oriental Collection of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest*, 1985, p. 583.
[127] The Sources contradict each other about Snouck Hurgronje's birthplace. Source 1: Witkam, 'Introduction', in: Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, says Oosterhout, p. 16. Van Koningsveld (1987) says Oosterhout, p. 249. Source 2: Steenbrink says Prinsenbeek, p. 80.
[128] Witkam, 'Introduction', in: Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, 2007, p. 15.
[129] Witkam, p. 17.

Leiden University.[130] A year of Arabic was mandatory for the colloquial of the candidate theology.[131] Hebrew was also mandatory for this study. In the 19th century many Arabic scholars therefore had first studied Christian theology.[132]

Michael Jan de Goeje,[133] then professor of oriental studies and mainly known for his great number of Arabic text editions, noted that a year of Arabic was actually insufficient to learn the language and therefore Snouck Hurgronje and fellow student and friend Herman Bavinck decided to start with Arabic already during their propaedeutic.[134] Snouck Hurgronje and Bavinck would be the only students of theology that also received a candidate degree in the Semitic languages.[135]

During his first years in Leiden he became close friend to the fellow theologian student Bavinck. As a son of a (Dutch) reformed preacher, Bavinck's choice to study particular in Leiden, as it was the bastion of 'modernist theology'[136] in this time, can be called unexpected. But it would not subvert his reformed background. In contrary Bavinck would become one of the sturdiest reformed theologians of the Dutch history. As noted in the beginning of this chapter, Snouck Hurgronje would keep lifelong correspondence with many of his acquaintances. One of them was precisely Bavinck; another life-long friendship emerged with the chemist Piet van Romburgh.[137] While not much is left of their correspondence, we know that the two friends stood each other by in both personal and professional issues. Van Romburgh gave Snouck Hurgronje, just before his departure to Jeddah in 1884,

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[130] Witkam, 'Introduction', in: Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, p. 17.
[131] De Bruijn and G. Harinck (ed.), *Een Leidse Vriendschap. De briefwisseling tussen Herman Bavinck en Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje 1875-1921,* p. 17.
[132] Pedersen, p. 7. In the 16th and 17th century, philologists were looking for the original version of the Bible. Arabic, besides Hebrew and Aramaic was an important tool in the search for this text. Partly due to this, Leiden University in the 17th and 18th century became a center of scientific Arabic studies, with internationally renowned scholars such as Thomas Erpenius (1584-1624), Jacob Golius (1596-1667), and Albert Schultens (1686-1750). Scholars in the 19th century developed text criticism, but added substantive interpretation to this. For these scholars the bible was not the word of God but a 'literary' text with a specific context. The result was a historical-critical method that especially in Germany made a great leap. See: De Hond, p. 26. Besides the progress made with regards to the knowledge of the various oriental languages and language groups, Arabic was no longer seen as merely a dialect of Hebreew.
[133] M.J. de Goeje, 1836-1909. Professor of Arabic, Chaldeeuws and Syrian in Leiden between 1866 and 1906. Snouck Hurgronje would become the successor of the Arabic chair in 1906.
[134] "Arabic was part of the candidate theology and during one year
[135] De Bruijn and G. Harinck (ed.), *Een Leidse Vriendschap. De briefwisseling tussen Herman Bavinck en Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje 1875-1921*, p. 17.
[136] Modern theology is a direction in the scientific study of theology where only that what is not contrary to reason is of significance.
[137] Piet Van Romburgh, 1855-1945, professor chemistry, 1903-1925 in Utrecht. Source 1: F. Kögl, Levensbericht P. van Romburgh, in: Jaarboek, 1944-1945, Amsterdam, p. 141-144. Source 2: J. De Bruijn and G. Harinck (ed.), *Een Leidse Vriendschap. De briefwisseling tussen Herman Bavinck en Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje 1875-1921* says wrongly that his chair was at Leiden instead of Utrecht.

instructions how to build a distillation barrel that he would need for his photo developing. Dutch East Indies would also bring them together again, Van Romburg serving as head of the botanical guardian in Buitenzorg (today Bogor), Snouck as adviser of de Dutch Governor General.

In 1878, after four years of study in Leiden, Snouck Hurgronje received his degree of candidate in theology (April) and in the Semitic languages (September) [138], and continued his study with a doctoral in Semitic languages, which he completed with cum laude in November 1879.[139] Snouck Hurgronje's doctoral was rewarded a cum laude by encouragement of the Academic registrar, P.J. Oostveen, who convinced De Goeje after De Goeje had already given his decision.[140] Years later Snouck Hurgronje wrote why he didn't like theology to the German Enno Littman: "'A continued progress in that cycle I cannot discover."'[141]

In the summer of 1879 Snouck Hurgronje stayed a month in London. In a letter drafted on August 4, 1879 in Leiden to Bavinck, Snouck Hurgronje reported about his stay. During daytime Snouck Hurgronje had particularly been working on a manuscript,[142] but had enough time to also visit theaters, sights and attend services at the Anglican Church of which he told Bavinck that he was not very enthousiastic. Snouck Hurgronje also attended some 'open-air' services in Hyde Park, but also this service he thought was charachterized by too much clerical arrogance, even though he preferred the 'open-air' service above the one in the church.[143]

Snouck Hurgronje made several acquaintances during his stay in London and established a friendship with the Russian Oriental scholar V.R. Rozen (1849-1908).[144] In the corrspondence that followed between Snouck Hurgronje and Rozen, they kept each other informed of each other's work. Their correspondence was most intense in the 1880s; after Snouck Hurgronje's departure to the East Indies it became less intensive, and only two letters are known from this period. The letters were written in

[138] De Bruijn and G. Harinck (ed.), *Een Leidse Vriendschap,* p. 46.
[139] Witkam, 'Introduction', in: Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, 2007, p. 17.
[140] De Bruijn and G. Harinck (ed.), *Een Leidse Vriendschap,* p. 58.
[141] F. Staal, ''Moeder vindt beter dat ik geen Sanskriet doe', Drie oriëntalisten', in: Erflaters van de twintigste eeuw, Amsterdam: Querido, 1991.
[142] Snouck Hurgronje worked with the European edition of the *Annales*, the great world history of the Arab historian Abu Ja'far Muhammad Ibn Jarir al-Tabarî (839-923), edited by M.J. De Goeje and pubished in thirtheen volumes between 1879-1901.
[143] De Bruijn and G. Harinck (ed.), *Een Leidse Vriendschap,* p. 53.
[144] I.J. Krackovsky, 'To the memory Ch. Snouck Hurgronje, Honorary member of the Academy of Sciences in the USSR', in: *Bijdragen tot Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 122, no 3, 1966, p. 375.

a "witty manner, not free from sarcasm"[145] typical of the style of Snouck Hurgronje. Snouck Hurgronje connections with Russian scholars did not cease after the death of Rozen. Although Snouck Hurgronje did not master Russian, he had knowledge of the Cyrillic alphabet and his ability to use a dictionary enabled him to get acquainted with the Russian works that interested him.[146]

Throughout Snouck Hurgronje's dissertation, De Goeje took him under his care. During the last months of his dissertation the young Snouck Hurgronje struggled to get his thesis ready in time.[147] On January 6, 1880 Snouck Hurgronje wrote to his friend Bavinck: "Fortunately, the dissertation obliges a subject matter, otherwise I would not do it, and would I probably in private be studying for myself."[148] On November 24, 1880 at the age of twenty-three, Snouck Hurgronje defended his dissertation *Het Mekkaansche feest* under the supervision of De Goeje and became Doctor in Semitic languages.[149]

The dissertation can be summarized as a historical-critical study on *hajj*.[150] Chapter 1 deals with Muhammad's relation to the old pagan cult of Mecca and discusses the influence of the old cult on Islam and the reasons why Muhammad included the cult into Islam. Chapter 2 and 3 described the cult and the pre-Islamic heritage of the *umrah*[151] and *hajj*. In an extended passage Snouck Hurgronje discussed the sexual desires of Muhammad and his difficulties with sexual abstinence and which consequences his lifestyle had for the regulations around the *hajj*.[152] Snouck Hurgronje wrote that Muhammad used "the meantime for other things than visiting chapels",[153] and according to Snouck Hurgronje, it was due to the 'sensuality' of Muhammad that the *umrah* in its Muslim form did emergence.[154] Snouck Hurgronje wrote that the *umrah* fulfilled the duties and so relieved Muhammad from the state of *Ihrâm (*ritual purity)*.* These two chapters further traced back to questions

[145] Krackovsky, 'To the memory Ch. Snouck Hurgronje, p. 377.
[146] Krackovsky, p. 377.
[147] De Bruijn and G. Harinck (ed.), *Een Leidse Vriendschap,* p. 70.
[148] Original quote by Snouck Hurgronje: "Gelukkig dat de promotie dwingt, een onderwerp te behandelen; anders deed ik het niet en ging stil in mijn eentje voor mijzelven studeren", in: De Bruijn and G. Harinck (ed.), *Een Leidse Vriendschap,* p. 64.
[149] A.J.P. Moereels, *Chr. Snouck Hurgronje (8-2-1857–26-6-1936)*, p.7.
[150] *Hajj* is a pilgrimage to Mecca, held annually and prescribed for all Muslims at least once in a lifetime, See: Waines, p. 315.
[151] *Umrah* is "a form of pilgrimage to Mecca outside the pilgrimage season during which many of the essential pilgrimage rituals are not performed". See: Waines, p. 321.
[152] Snouck Hurgronje, *Het Mekkaansche feest*, p. 89.
[153] Snouck Hurgronje, p. 124.
[154] Snouck Hurgronje, p. 122.

as: why did Muhammad adopt these ceremonies into Islam and how did the annexation take place?[155] In his dissertation Snouck Hurgronje formulated a theory of opportunism by Muhammad. This theory came down to that when Muhammad noticed that the Jews in West Arabia did not accept him as a Prophet, Muhammad had the choice to "become a Jew or to detach Islam from Judaism".[156] Muhammad used the Abraham legend (his rejection of idolatry), which was not mentioned in the Old Testament and therefore Muhammad according to Snouck Hurgronje used this legend in order to Islamize the already existing *hajj*.[157]

Snouck Hurgronje used the Qur'an as his main source, but considered *tafsir*[158] necessary, and used the commentaries of the Islamic Sunni scholars Baidhāwī (d. 1286 or 1293 or 1316), Baghawī (d. 1122) a shafi'i *muhaddith* and Qortobī (d. 1273). But he would often deviate from these commentaries with his own interpretations.[159] Snouck Hurgronje concluded his dissertation with the observation that the pre-Islamic pilgrimage to Mecca had more commercial than religious significance, and therefore the cult continued to exist after the emergence of Islam, though slightly differently implemented.[160] He also concluded that the shrine was probably not of Arabic origin, but in the course of time had been assimilated to the ordinary Arabic cult forms.[161] According to Snouck Hurgronje the pilgrimage was retained because it was a measure for Muhammad to accomodate the conservatives in Mecca.[162]

The predecessor of De Goeje at Leiden University was R.P.A. Dozy.[163] In Dozy's famous work, *De Israëliten te Mekka: tot in de 5e eeuw onzer tijdrekening* (*The Israelites in Mecca* 1864), Dozy argued that the Meccan feast was of Israelite origin.[164] In *Het Mekkaansche feest,* Snouck Hurgronje wrote that Dozy "proved this beyond doubt".[165] Later, Snouck Hurgronje took another position in relation to this question, in the edition of *Het Mekkansche Feest,* included in *Verspreide geschriften*

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[155] Snouck Hurgronje, *Het Mekkaansche feest,* p. 5.
[156] Snouck Hurgronje, p. 35.
[157] Snouck Hurgronje, p. 30
[158] Tafsir, ta'wil, exegeses of the Quran. The five main sources of tafsir are the Quran, Hadith, Sahaba, Ratio, see: David Waines, *An introduction to Islam*.
[159] Snouck Hurgronje, *Het Mekkaansche feest*, p. 6.
[160] Snouck Hurgronje, p. 179.
[161] Snouck Hurgronje, p. 186.
[162] Snouck Hurgronje, p. 180.
[163] R.P.A. Dozy, 1820-1883, professor mediaeval and modern history at Leiden University between 1850-1883. See: DBNL.
[164] Th. W. Juynboll, *Dr. C. Snouck Hurgronje*, 1901, p. 64.
[165] Snouck Hurgronje, *Het Mekkaansche feest*, p. 4.

part I from 1923,[166] Snouck Hurgronje made changes at disadvantage to Dozy: "proved this beyond doubt" became "only attempted to prove".[167]

While De Goeje was an Arabic philologist "par excellence",[168] Snouck Hurgronje later gave way to research based on more interpretation, analysis and synthesis.[169] For Snouck Hurgronje philology would come to mean the study of religious history and Islamic Law. This must be regarded as a progressive choice in the Dutch oriental studies at that time. Still, his dissertation was written in the same spirit as that of his teacher, mainly based on classical texts as sources. During the defence of his dissertation, De Goeje even acknowledged that he did not know as much about the material as Snouck Hurgronje did.[170] He succeeded and earned his degree with honors. The performance of the young Snouck Hurgronje aroused admiration in the academic world,[171] and the dissertation was later called brilliant by several scholars.[172]

What was then the motive of Snouck Hurgronje to deal with this particular subject? In a letter drafted on February 4, 1880 to Bavinck, Snouck Hurgronje wrote that he struggled with the writing and that if he had had a better glance at the specific topic before starting, or if he at least had had someone available in possession of such knowledge, he might not have chosen this topic.[173] Unfortunately he didn't tell what topic he would have chosen in that case. *Het Mekkansche Feest* is written like a novel and gives us a foretaste on his future writing style. To write very accessible for the ordinary reader was a skill that he used in the many (polemic) articles that he would write later. The views and methods used by Snouck Hurgronje, as a scholar, will be discussed further on in this paper.

During the writing of his dissertation, Snouck Hurgronje planned to go to Strasbourg as soon it was completed and study with Oriental scholar Professor

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[166] Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide geschriften van C. Snouck Hurgronje* I (7 volumes), 1923 (1923-1927).
[167] Van Koningsveld, 'Snouck Hurgronje zoals hij was. Een bijdrage tot de waardering van de Nederlandse oriëntalistiek', in: *Snouck Hurgronje en de Islam,* p. 46.
[168] This description is to be found in: J. Brugman and F. Schröder, *Arabic Studies in the Netherlands*, publication of The Netherlands Institute of Archaeology and Arabic Studies in Cairo, Leiden: Brill, 1979, p. 39.
[169] Van Koningsveld, 'Snouck Hurgronje zoals hij was (2)', *Snouck Hurgronje en de Islam,* p. 47.
[170] De Bruijn and G. Harinck (ed.), *Een Leidse Vriendschap,* p. 73.
[171] Moereels, *Chr. Snouck Hurgronje (8-2-1857–26-6-1936),* p. 7.
[172] See for example: Frits Staal, 'Moeder vindt beter dat ik geen Snskriet doe', in: *de Volkskrant*, June 9, 1989. See also: Brugman and F. Schröder, Karel Steenbrink and J. Pedersen.
[173] De Bruijn and G. Harinck (ed.), *Een Leidse Vriendschap,* p. 65.

Theodor Nöldeke.[174] His stay only lasted for a couple of months. Still, this short stay in Strasbourg resulted in a close friendship with Nöldeke for the rest of their lives. Their friendship was kept vital through correspondence.[175] Snouck Hurgronje returned to Leiden, where he was appointed teacher at the municipal institution of civil service for Dutch East Indies on October 1, 1881.[176] His appointment led to involvement in the Dutch colonial policy.

In 1883 Snouck Hurgronje got to know his first Muslim scholar, Amîn al-Madanî, a Medinan[177] who in recent years lived in Egypt and who had come to the Netherlands to attend the *International, Colonial, and Export trade Exposition* (Internationale, Koloniale en Uitvoerhandel Tentoonstelling) that took place that year between 1 May and 31 October in Amsterdam. Amîn al-Madanî was scholar and salesman of books. Amîn al-Madanî's had travelled extensively; including to the East Indies and Singapore.[178] Amîn al-Madanî understood that he could earn more money in the West and thought that the *International Exposition* in Amsterdam gave him the best possibilities.[179] The first two months were difficult but fortunately Amîn al-Madanî's collection of several hundred Arabic manuscripts was detected by the publishing house Brill and som oriental scholars from Leiden who bought all of them and through Brill these manuscripts ended up in the university library of Leiden University.[180] Amîn al-Madanî stayed for some time in Leiden with his friend C. Landberg and also attended the 6th International Congress of Orientalists that took place between 10 and 15 September that year.

Al-Madanî's impressions of his travel through Europe and the congress were published in several issues in the Cairo journal *al-Burhân* on October 22, 25, 29 and November 1 and 5 in 1883[181] and Snouck Hurgronje cared for a Dutch translation.

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[174] Theodor Nöldeke, 1836-1930, German orientalist, professor in Kiel, 1868-1872, and Strasbourg, 1872-1906. Nöldeke became foreign member of Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences (KNAW) in 1878.
[175] Snouck Hurgronje, *Orientalism and Islam. The letters of C. Snouck Hurgronje to Th. Nöledeke*, Van Koningsveld (ed.), Leiden: Rijksuniversiteit Leiden, 1985.
[176] Drewes, 'Snouck Hurgronje, Christiaan (1857-1936), in: J. Charité (ed.), *Biografisch Woordenboek van Nederland*, vol. 2, The Hague: Instituut voor Nederlandse Geschiedenis, 1985, p. 523.
[177] Snouck Hurgronje (ed.), *Het Leidsche Orientalistencongress. Indrukken van een Arabisch congreslid*, 1883, p. 6. Full name was Amîn ibn Hasan Halawânî al- Madanî al-Hanafî, see: *Het Liedsche Orientalistencongress. Indrukken van een Arabisch congreslid*, p. 3.
[178] Snouck Hurgronje (ed.), *Het Liedsche Orientalistencongress. Indrukken van een Arabisch congreslid*, 1883, p. 6
[179] Snouck Hurgronje (ed.), p. 8.
[180] Snouck Hurgronje (ed.), p. 8.
[181] Witkam, 2001, *Inventory of the oriental manuscripts in the Legatum Warnerianum in the Library of the University of Leiden and other collections in the Netherlands*, vol. 3, Leiden: Ter Lugt, 2006, p.

Al-Madanî also suggested the Amsterdam municipality to build a small mosque in Amsterdam, with mosque staff paid by the Dutch government.[182] But this plan was never implemented.[183] Al-Madanî also gave Snouck Hurgronje pamphlets against what he considered religious superstition.[184] Later Snouck Hurgronje used these pamphlets in his criticism on the moral decay of the highest circles of the Ottoman Sultan Abdul Hamid II. Snouck Hurgronje was furious about those *sheikhs* around Medina who fought each other, in his eyes in harm to the population there, for the favor of and to gain the greatest influence on the Caliph in Constantinopel. Snouck Hurgronje stressed that it was according to him not a conflict about any religious or political issues or of different opinions about the state or their interest of their communities between these *sheikhs* but purely about power. Snouck Hurgronje added that religion and politics were, among the Islamic territories, most linked with each other in 'Turkey'. Thence it was difficult to distinguish religious and political affairs.[185]

In 1883 Leiden was the host of the 6th International Congress of Orientalists. The opening took place on September 10. In the opening speech religious freedom and trade were mentioned as important for the prosperity of Oriental studies.[186] The young Snouck Hurgronje participated and met scholars as the German Orientalists H. Thorbecke (1837-1890) and Socin (1844-1899), A. Müller, D.H. Müller, Goldziher, the American Orientalist Brünnow as well as Kuenen, Kern, De Goeje, and Land.[187] Snouck Hurgronje also was a friend of Ignaz Goldziher and Julius Euting (1839-1908).[188] Already in February of 1883 had Snouck Hurgronje written a letter to Goldziher in which he told him about his interest in the study of the history of Islam and about his current writing. This first approach of the young Snouck Hurgronje to

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121, [online], available at http://www.islamicmanuscripts.info/index.html, [Accessed on November 4, 2009].

[182] Snouck Hurgronje (ed.), *Het Liedsche Orientalistencongress,* p. 7.

[183] The only state mosque ever built in the Netherlands was a mosque in Balk, in the province of Friesland, which was built in 1950 for militaries of the Royal Dutch East Indies Armies (KNIL). See: K. Versteegh, 'Wederzijds rescpect voorwaarde voor integratie', in: NRC Handelsblad, February 24, 1992, p. 7.

[184] Witkam, 'Introduction', in: Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, p. 21. Snouck Hurgronje used these and later pamphlets of Amîn al-Madanî to illustrate the moral decay of the highest circles of the Ottoman Turks.

[185] Snouck Hurgronje, 'Enige Arabische strijdschriften besproken', in: Kurt Schroeder and A.J. Wensinck (ed.), *Verspreide geschriften van C. Snouck Hurgronje III*, 1923, p. 186.

[186] A.L. Molendijk, 'Religie op de internationale koloniale tentoonstelling van 1883 in Amsterdam', in: *Dokumentatieblad voor de Nederlandse Kerkgeschiedenis na 1800*, vol. 29, 2006, p. 17.

[187] Snouck Hurgronje, *Orientalism and Islam. The letters of C. Snouck Hurgronje to Th. Nöledeke*, Van Koningsveld (ed.), p. 330.

[188] Orientalist, Honorary Professor (1880), Strasbourg.

Goldziher led to a lifelong correspondence between the two men.[189] But the correspondence was not exclusively between them; also family members of Snouck Hurgronje and Goldziher were corresponding. Snouck Hurgronje's mother wrote letters to both Goldziher and his wife Laura. Later Snouck Hurgronje's sister Jacqueline and his third wife Ida Oort corresponded with the Goldziher family. In his personal diary, Goldziher shows the importance of his correspondence with Snouck Hurgronje for his scholarly and literary development:

"'In 1883 knüpfte mit mir Snouck Hurgronje in Leiden einen Briefwechsel an, der zu einem innigen, zunächst aus wissenschaftlichem Mittelpunkte ausstrahlenden Freundschafsbund führte. Das Verhältnis zu diesem genialen, entschiedenen, rücksichtslosen Manne bezeichnet eine Epoche in meinem wissenschaftlichen Leben. Die Anerkennung, die dieser strenge Kritiker meinem Können zollte, erhöhte mein Selbstvertrauen und lockte mich zu einer Zeit, als ich bereits ganz und gar dem Zerfalle nahe war, wieder auf die literarische Bahn"'[190]

The discipline Oriental study, as a broader field of Islamic Studies, is a phenomenon of the 19th and early 20th centuries when European scholars developed a new method that allowed viewing religion as a historical phenomenon.[191] Classical humanism and the spirit of Enlightenment influenced Oriental studies.[192] Germany was the predecessor in this field of study of which Ignaz Goldziher in Budapest was one of the most prominent. The key elements of the study of Islam have their origin in the German archaeological and philological tradition of critical scholarship of cultures and texts.[193] Goldziher first applied historical criticism to his own religious tradition, that of Judaism, before applying it much more elaborately to that of Islam.[194] Snouck Hurgronje had a positivistic view on science and therefore felt that theological

[189] Snouck Hurgronje, *Scholarship and friendship in early Islamwissenschaft: the letters of C. Snouck Hurgronje to I. Goldziher from the Oriental Collection of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest*, 1985, p. 1.
[190] Snouck Hurgronje, *Scholarship and friendship in early Islamwissenschaft: the letters of C. Snouck Hurgronje to I. Goldziher*, p. XIII.
[191] Irwin, *For Lust of Knowing*, p. 187.
[192] F. Gabrieli, 'Apology for Orientalism', in: A.L. Macfie (ed.), *Orientalism. A reader*, Edinburgh: Edinburg University Press, 2000, p. 80.
[193] A. Nanji (ed.), 'introduction', in: *Mapping Islamic Studies. Genealogy, Continuity and Change*, p. xiv.
[194] Irwin, *For Lust of Knowing*, p. 196.

questions about the 'absolute' were no subject for science.[195] Snouck Hurgronje practiced historical study of Islam. He had a desire for firsthand information and verification and a desire for understanding the spirit and ambitions of people. Philology for Snouck Hurgronje was the study of religious history and Islamic Law. The heritage of Snouck Hurgronje made Arabic Studies hereafter almost identical with Islamic studies. This heritage remained to the 1960s.[196]

1.2 The young scholar

Snouck Hurgronje kept the position of teacher at the municipal institution of the officials for Dutch East Indies officials in Leiden from 1881 to 1887, with an exception of leave in 1885 for his travel to Arabia. In 1864 there existed three institutions that educated civil servants for Dutch East Indies in the Kingdom of the Netherlands. These were the royal institution in Leiden, not connected to Leiden University, the municipality institution in Delft, and the section B of the Gymnasium Willem III in Batavia. The institution of Delft had a more practical and functional character than the one in Leiden, and also the greatest student population. In 1877 the institution in Leiden was closed because of dysfunction according to the Dutch government, but soon it restarted as a municipality institution, however in 1891 it finally closed its doors because of the decline in its student population. Delft stopped their activities in 1901 because of reduced subsidies, and in 1911 the institution in Batavia suffered the same destiny.[197]

Delft closed down as a result of lobbying by among others Snouck Hurgronje, who thought that the training for *Indologen*[198] should be adapted to academic requirements. Leiden by contrast made a restart in 1902 as a royal institution for education of the Dutch East-Indian administration.[199] Leiden therefore became the center for training of East Indies civil servants during the expansion of the Dutch East Indies administration[200] that took place during the hey-day of the ethical policy

[195] De Bruijn and G. Harinck (ed.), *Een Leidse Vriendschap*, p. 147.
[196] Brugman and F. Schröder, *Arabic Studies in the Netherlands*, p. 47.
[197] Kuitenbrouwer, *Tussen oriëntalisme en wetenschap*, p. 103.
[198] This training had nothing in common with what is called 'Indology' nowadays, but refers to the training of Dutch civil servants for Dutch East Indies in the Netherlands, 1825-1950.
[199] Fasseur, 'Leiden and Empire: University and colonial office 1825-1925', in: Leiden Oriental Connections 1850-1940 p. 187.
[200] Kuitenbrouwer, *Tussen oriëntalisme en wetenschap*, p. 103.

between 1905 and 1920.[201] Thus as a matter of course Leiden became synonymous with ethical policy.[202] Leiden kept this position until 1925.[203] Dutch 'ethical policy' has been described as "a course of action aimed at effective Dutch occupation of the whole Indonesian archipelago and the development of the land and the people of this region towards self-government under Dutch guidance and on Western lines".[204] This summary of the policy reflects a paradoxical mixture of guardianship, emancipation and liberation of the indigenous population of Dutch East Indies. The 'ethical' phase of the colonial policies was replaced by a more reactionary phase after World War I.[205]

Some people considered the course in Leiden to be characterized by a 'subversion of authority' in the colony. In reaction, a new *Indologen* course, supported by the Dutch business community in the Dutch East Indies was founded in 1925 at Utrecht University. The chair of Utrecht was contemptuously called 'the sugar and oil faculty' by opponents because of its primarily economic interest in the Indies.[206] In a period when the Dutch East Indies had become of renewed economically interest, people representing the vision of Utrecht thought Leiden was going against what they saw as the grain of national interest.[207] Other descriptions used about Leiden were: "hyperethical, unhistorical, and unpatriotic".[208]

In 1870 the colony was opened to private entrepreneurs and the indigenous population got the opportunity to lease land to these entrepreneurs. This change came about following the introduction of the Agrarian Land law and the Sugar law in 1870. After 1870 trade increased enormously and so did the European population in the Indies. The period from 1870 until about 1920 is called *Tempo Doeloe* (old times)[209] and is afterwards considered as peak of Dutch colonial life in the Indies.[210] The

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[201] Kuitenbrouwer, *Tussen oriëntalisme en wetenschap,* p. 97.
[202] Fasseur, 'Leiden and Empire: University and colonial office 1825-1925', p. 202.
[203] Fasseur, p. 187.
[204] See: E. Locher-Scholten, *Ethiek in fragmenten. Vijf studies over kolonial denken en doen in de Indonesische Archipel 1877-1942*, 1981, p. 191.
[205] Waardenburg, Jacques. 'Islamic Studies in Dutch Scholarship', in: A. Nanji (ed.), *Mapping Islamic Studies. Genealogy, Continuity and Change*, p. 72.
[206] Fasseur, 'Leiden and Empire: University and colonial office 1825-1925', 1989, p. 203.
[207] Otterspeer, 'The ethical imperative', in: *Leiden Oriental Conncetions 1850-1940,* W. Otterspeer (ed.), Leiden: Brill, 1989, p. 204.
[208] Otterspeer, p. 205.
[209] The name *Tempo Doeloe* (old times) concerns those who in those years led a good life. *Tempo Doeloe* describes the nostalgia and longing for the 'old times' in the Indies of the Dutch Indies who were forced to leave the Indies and ended in the Netherlands after the independence of Indonesia. The term therefore covers mainly 'the Indies' in the Netherlands. (C.C.)
[210] R. Baay, *De njai. Het concubinaat in Nederlands-Indië*, 2008, p. 48.

dissertation *Het conflict Snouck Hurgronje-Van Heutsz-Van Daalen,* defended by J.W. Naarding at Utrecht University in 1938 showed that the heritage of national economic interest in Utrecht lived on. In the introduction of this dissertation, the importance of national history and her great past, especially in the Eastern archipelago, is glorified and the subjugation of Aceh is called "a brilliant episode of the Dutch Military History."[211]

Besides that the ethical line in Leiden got criticized by 'conservatives', also representatives of the Dutch left criticized Leiden, which they identified as a center of conservatives. 'Liberal' is a more correct description of the Leiden ethics to which Snouck Hurgronje belonged. This liberal view was part of a development of a particular Dutch intellectual trend in the second half of the 19th and early 20th century and can be described as a blend of liberalism, modernism and empiricism, with strong humanist leanings.[212] This view also embraced nationalism, without racial characteristics.[213] Snouck Hurgronje was devoted to the idea of a greater Netherlands, a Dutch commonwealth to work as an example for the world. Snouck Hurgronje quoted Ernest Renan's definition of a nation: 'le désir de'être ensemble'.[214] In an article from 1908, Snouck Hurgronje wrote that the racial theory of a nation still lacks hard evidence and for that reason he rejected it. For Snouck Hurgronje something was only true if inductive research had proven it.[215] Snouck Hurgronje delivered the speech *Islam and the Racial Problem* (*De Islâm en het rassenprobleem*) in 1922. In this speech, Snouck Hurgronje defied the belief of absolute excellence of the white race.[216] Schröder defined Snouck Hurgronje's relation to racism in a clear way and called him an evolutionary racist. Schröder meant by this that Snouck Hurgronje did not believe that the nature of the indigenous population in the Indies was founded in ineradicable racial charachteristics. He considered them more as children and that much of their backlog was due to lack of (read: good Western) education. Snouck

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[211] J.W. Naarding, *Het conflict Snouck Hurgronje-Van Heutsz-Van Daalen. Een onderzoek naar de verantwoordelijkheid*, Utrecht: Oosthoek, 1938, p. 1.
[212] Otterspeer, 'The ethical imperative', p. 205.
[213] Critics said that E. Renan did not always practise what he preached. For instance he cherished a Semitic-Aryan dichtomy. Edward Said claimed that science was part of a 'hidden' policy of power that was used as a colonising factor. See: Said (1978), p. 132-151. According to E. Said Renan was a racist, whose language studies had an implicit 'hidden' power politics and ultimately functioned as a symbol for European domination over the East. See: W. Otterspeer, *Utopieën van een onvermoeibaar mens*, p. 131.
[214] Otterspeer, 'The ethical imperative', p. 211.
[215] Snouck Hurgronje, 'Blikken in het zieleleven van den Javaan?', in: De Gids, no 9, 1908, p. 13.
[216] Snouck Hurgronje, *De Islâm en het rassenprobleem*, speech delivered on the 347th anniversary of the Leidsche Hoogeschool, 8 February, by Rector Snouck Hurgronje.

Hurgronje was conviced that some of the indigenous populations possessed capabilities to govern themselves when they got the right guidance and tools. Emancipation was the keyword.[217]

On March 15, 1930 the first number of a magazine of a group, which was to be remembered as 'De Stuw', was published in the East Indies. In January 1930, a call circulated to all Dutch in the East Indies who wished to contribute to the emanciaption of the East Indies to unite. The call led to a formation of a group of thirteen people who for four years published on the topic of emancipation but 1934 had to stop with their activities under pressure from the Dutch authorities in the East Indies. The group was not united in their choice of political party but they were all influenced by the ideas of Snouck Hurgronje and his view on the value of the indigenous culture.[218]

Snouck Hurgronje's main concern was that the unity of state, laws and administrative action was not only for members of some legal entities or religious groups but should be for all citizens of this 'commonwealth'.[219] Knowledge of the Orient was according Snouck Hurgronje important in order to help remove the barrier of incomprehension.[220] *Netherlands and Islam (Nederland en Islam)* is the title of four lectures that Snouck Hurgronje gave in 1911 at the College of Administrative Studies of the Dutch East Indies (Nederlandsch-Indische bestuursacademie) and was published under the same title in 1915. Snouck Hurgronje wrote about the "beautiful political and national idea, the genesis of a Dutch state, made up of two geographically separate, but spiritually intimately connected parts, the one in North-West Europe, the other in South-East Asia"[221], referring to the Netherlands and the Dutch East Indies. According to Snouck Hurgronje, not religion connected the two parts, but general cultural thoughts did. These general cultural thoughts were the legacy of the Dutch domination in the East Indies. In 1924 Huizinga wrote that Renan had given a lecture at Leiden University "some fifty years ago." [222] Snouck Hurgronje

[217] F. Schröder, 'Oriëntalistische retoriek: Van Koningsveld over de vuile handen van Snouck Hurgronje', 1980, p. 796.
[218] Locher-Scholten, 'De Stuw, tijdstekening en teken des tijds', in: Fasseur (ed.), *Geld en geweten. Een bundel opstellen over anderhalve eeuw Nederlands bestuur in de Indonesiche archipel*, II, The Hague, 1980, p. 113.
[219] Otterspeer, 'The ethical imperative', p. 214.
[220] Otterspeer, p. 216. See also: Snouck Hurgronje, 'Die Orientalistiek in Holland', in: *Verspreide Geschriften* VI, p. 375.
[221] Snouck Hurgronje, *Nederland en de Islam*, reissued 2nd edition Leiden: Brill, 1915, p. 85.
[222] J. Huzinga, *Lectures on Holland delivered in the University of Leyden during the first Netherlands week*

most likely attended this lecture titled *Qu'est-ce qu'une nation?*[223] In 1882 Renan had given this lecture at the Sorbonne. In 1877 Renan had also delivered the oratio of the 200th anniversary of Spinoza (1632-1677), in The Hague.[224] The essence of *Qu'est-ce qu'une nation?* is that the nation is a mental principle that appears from historical circumstances.[225]

Snouck Hurgronje was of the opinion that the Netherlands had the moral obligation to educate the indigenous East Indies to participation in the Dutch state and nation.[226]

Snouck Hurgronje underlined this opinion in *Netherlands and Islam (Nederland en de Islam)* by quoting Goethe "Was du ererbt von deinen Vätern hast, Erwirb es, um es zu besitzen."[227] With this quote Snouck Hurgronje wanted to say that unity between the Netherlands and the Dutch East Indies that was once achieved by domination could only be maintained by association between these two.[228] One of his concerns was how to fit a Muslim into a Dutch-Indian society? Snouck Hurgronje found the reforming process of Islam everywhere in the Islamic world and thought that there was no question about whether the Moslim world was going to be associated with modern thoughts. Snouck Hurgronje felt an urge to let the Islamic world take part of the pleasures of a modern society.[229] Snouck Hurgronje was convinced that it was possible to attain an understanding between Islam and the modern world.[230]

1.3 Contemporaries

Snouck Hurgronje's predecessors on the contrary were split between two camps in relation to his work. But early in his career, Snouck Hurgronje let the predecessors know about his criticism of their work.[231] One of these was L.W.C. Van den Berg

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for American students, July 7-12, 1924, Leiden: Sijthoff, 1924, p. 1.
[223] E. Renan, *Wat is een natie? Lezing gehouden in de Sorbonne op 11 Maart 1882,* transl. of *Qu'est-ce qu'une nation?* intro. by H.R. Hoetink, 1945, p. 1.
[224] Otterspeer, 'The ethical imperative', p. 207.
[225] Renan, *Wat is een natie?* p. 50.
[226] Snouck Hurgronje, *Nederland en de Islam*, reissued 2nd edition Leiden: Brill, 1915, p. 86.
[227] Snouck Hurgronje, *Nederland en de Islam*, p. 85.
[228] Snouck Hurgronje, *Nederland en de Islam*, p. 85.
[229] Snouck Hurgronje, *Mohammedanism. Lectures on its Origin, its Religious and Political Growth, and its Present State. American Lectures on the History of Religions*. Series of 1914-1915, New York/London: Putnam's Sons, 1916, p. 155.
[230] Snouck Hurgronje, *Mohammedanism,* p. 177.
[231] Kuitenbrouwer, *Tussen Oriëntalisme en wetenschap*, p. 70.

(1845-1927). In 1874 Van den Berg edited a work on Islamic *fiqh,*[232] which in 1883 had its third edition.[233] In April 1883, Snouck Hurgronje first published a critical article: 'Mr. L.W.C. van den Berg. Minhâdj at-tâlibîn',[234] in *De Indische Gids*. The young Snouck Hurgronje didn't hold back with his criticism on Van den Berg's work on Islamic *fiqh*. In *Mr. L.W.C. van den Berg's beoefening van het Mohammedaansche Recht,*[235] Snouck Hurgronje noted the numerous errors of Van den Berg and gave his own corrections. Snouck Hurgronje proved that he knew the matter well and that he didn't have to rely on secondary works on the subject as Van den Berg, but that he was familiar with the Arabic sources.[236]

Van den Berg belonged to the so-called establishment of scholarship of the Dutch East Indies and therefore represented what Snouck Hurgronje disliked.[237] For the outsider this may seem as a contradiction, as Snouck Hurgronje would also become part of the establishment in his position of adviser of the Dutch Governor General, 1989-1906 in Dutch East Indies and as official of the Ministry of colonial affairs, 1907-1927. Snouck Hurgronje's and Van den Berg's careers do in fact have great similarities: both of them studied in Leiden and specialized themselves in Arabic and Islamic studies, both became advisers for the Dutch East Indies, and both developed a strategy for Aceh, to make the population of Aceh subject to Dutch, and they were both members of the board of Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies at Leiden (KITLV).[238] But they represented different generations and different policy within this institution. Still, when Snouck Hurgronje wrote his review, he was 'only' a reader at the Municipial Institute for the Training of East Indies Civil Servants (Gemeentelijke Instelling voor de Opleiding van Oostindische Ambtenaren) in Leiden.

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[232] *Fiqh* refers to Islamic law and means 'understanding', science of jurisprudence; regulates both human beings relations to each other and to God, the sources of *Fiqh* is the will of Allah as revealed by Muhammad and can therefore only be understood historically. In contrary to customary law that is manmade. See: David Waines, *An introduction to Islam*

[233] L.W.C. Van den Berg (1883). 3rd edition (1874).

[234] In the function of official, L.W.C. Van den Berg was responsible for the Arabic edition and translation of *Minhâdj at-tâlibîn;* a law book of the thirteenth century scholar al-Nawawî. The Dutch colonial government believed that this work would increase the knowledge about Islam of the governance. See: Witkam, 'Introduction', in: Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, 2007, p. 22.

[235] Snouck Hurgronje, *Mr. L. W. C. van den Berg's beoefening van het Mohammedaansche recht*, p. 2.

[236] Brugman, 'Snouck Hurgronje's study of Islamic Law', in: *Leiden Oriental Conncetions 1850-1940,* Leiden: Brill, 1989, p. 85.

[237] Witkam, 'Introduction', in: Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka,* 2007, p. 22.

[238] Kuitenbrouwer*, Tussen Oriëntalisme en wetenschap*, p. 66.

Snouck Hurgronje predominantly represented 'ethical enlightenment', while Van den Berg stood for the conservative-confessional variant. Of Van den Berg's qualifications, we can deduce that he was a brilliant student, and in late1869 he left for East-India,[239] where he in 1878 became the very first appointed governmental adviser of 'oriental languages and Muslim law'. In this position, Van den Berg visited Aceh, a visit that led to a major dislike of the population there from his side. Van den Berg therefore developed a master plan to dispossess the Aceh population of its fertile ground and instead get them colonized by Christian ex-militaries such as the Ambonese, with the hope that the Christian civilization would bring the natives to extinction.[240]

Witkam believes that the provocations and other spades that Snouck Hurgronje gave to Van den Berg and others had to do with some kind of social inferiority complex. In the field of knowledge Snouck Hurgronje, despite his young age, probably enjoyed more credit then Van den Berg, but not socially. Their polemic caused serious sensation, and Snouck Hurgronje would get the last word through his great indictment at the address of Van den Berg.[241] Van den Berg was, among other things, accused of being a "quasi-practitioner" of the *fiqh*, someone who was purely guided by personal motives and favored the "*sociétés d' admiration mutuelle;*"[242] insinuating on the establishment of administration in the East Indies. He was also regarded as a Dutch petty bourgeois (in Dutch: 'vaderlandsche onderonsjes'),[243] what Cd. Busken Huet (1826-1886)[244] described the Dutch tendency to cronyism and village mentality. In March 1891 Snouck Hurgronje became adviser of 'the Eastern languages and Mohammedan law' in the Dutch East Indies. So Snouck Hurgronje finally succeeded Van den Berg.[245]

Until the second half of the nineteenth century, Islamic law was hardly taught at the university in the Netherlands. Perhaps surprising, as *fiqh* had constituted the basis of the scholarly education of all Muslim scholars for ages and in particular had influenced their thought and writing. Besides, the Arabic chair in Leiden was created already in the sixteenth century, but with no interest in *fiqh.* Snouck Hurgronje wrote

[239] Witkam, 'Introduction', in: Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka,* 2007, p. 22.
[240] Kuitenbrouwer, *Tussen Oriëntalisme en wetenschap*, p. 66.
[241] Witkam, 'Introduction', in: Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, 2007, p. 22.
[242] Witkam, p. 23.
[243] Witkam, p. 23.
[244] See: O. Praamstra, *Busken Huet: een biografie*
[245] Th. W. Juynboll, *Dr. C. Snouck Hurgronje*, Haarlem: H.D. Tjeenk Willink, 1901, p. 58.

that studying *fiqh* was regarded as "discreditable among Western orientalists."[246] Partly this can be explained by the circumstance that Islam in general was seen as a false tenet.[247] While in the nineteenth century the anti-Islamic prejudice diminished, Dutch Arabic scholars were still not particular interested in the religion itself. Favorite fields of study in the eighteenth century were language and literature and in the nineteenth century it became history. In a letter to Goldziher on December 5, 1890, Snouck Hurgronje wrote that in intellectual terms, no other colleague stood closer to him than Goldziher.[248] Both gentlemen dealt with Islamic studies and the intellectual influence was mutual.[249]

2. 1884 - 1889

2.1 Interest of Arabia

J.A. Kruyt, consul with deployment in Jeddah since 1878, was in 1884 on leave in the Netherlands. The consul and Snouck Hurgronje had an appointment and discussed the possibility for the young scholar to visit the Arabian Peninsula. Four years earlier the consul had, during a lecture at the Geographical Society in Amsterdam, suggested that a young Dutchmen, with sufficient language knowledge and desire, should investigate 'Arabia'. Obviously the Dutch East Indies *hajjis* visiting Mecca were of interest, the Dutch authorities suspected Mecca to be a hotbed for spreading pan-Islam among them. Furthermore Kruyt also believed that there were multiple opportunities to make Arabia a center of Dutch trade. We don't know whether Snouck Hurgronje really attended the lecture at the Geographical Society, but he certainly read the printed version.[250]

In a letter dated May 7, 1884 addressed to the excellence of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Kruyt wrote that he recently had spoken with Snouck Hurgronje about his possible interest to accompany him to Jeddah to study the situation there.

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[246] Snouck Hurgronje, *Scholarship and friendship in early Islamwissenschaft: the letters of C. Snouck Hurgronje to I. Goldziher from the Oriental Collection of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest*, 1985, p. XIV.
[247] J. Brugman, 'Snouck Hurgronje's study of Islamic Law', p. 82.
[248] Snouck Hurgronje, *Scholarship and friendship in early Islamwissenschaft: the letters of C. Snouck Hurgronje to I. Goldziher from the Oriental Collection of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest*, 1985, p. 129.
[249] Snouck Hurgronje, p. XIII.
[250] Witkam, 'Introduction', in: Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, 2007, p. 25.

Kruyt stressed the political importance of Jeddah for the East Indies and the direct interests the Netherlands had in the events in the East, especially in pan-Islamic movements, which according to Kruyt were trying to spread propaganda among "our possessions".[251] Kruyt asked the minister for an allowance for Snouck Hurgronje as he needed to take leave from his position as teacher at the municipal institution of the East Indies officials in Leiden. [252] The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Colonies finally agreed to contribute a total of 1500 Fl.[253] The allocated money was taken from the budget of the Ministry of Colonies intended for Dutch East Indies purposes.[254] Snouck Hurgronje's proposal for a study trip was remunerated with 4000 Fl.[255] The allocated money was meant to cover his travel to Jeddah and to support his stay there; Mecca is not mentioned in the documents.[256] In the preface of *Mekka* part I Snouck Hurgronje thanked everyone who made his trip possible.[257]

The Dutch fear of pan-Islamism and the lack of knowledge about the Dutch East Indies *hajjis* were reasons to search for a 'reliable' source of information. The trip to Arabia had therefore two objectives. On one hand, Snouck Hurgronje wanted to extend his knowledge of contemporary Islam and study Islam without the influence of Christianity or European Culture, whereas he also wanted to study what political impact Mecca exerted on the Dutch East Indies.[258] Since the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, the influx of Hadrami immigrants in the East Indies had drastically increased. This immigration caused the Dutch colonial administration anxiety because of the presumed Islamization.[259] Snouck Hurgronje possessed good connections with Hadramis during his stay in Arabia and when he later moved to the East Indies, the minority of Hadramis remained of interest to him.[260] In *Mekka* Snouck Hurgronje

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[251] Van Koningsveld, 'Snouck Hurgronje zoals hij was', in: *Snouck Hurgronje en de Islam.*, p. 58
[252] Van Koningsveld, p. 58.
[253] Witkam, 'Introduction', in: Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, 2007, p. 26. Van Koningsveld, '*Snouck Hurgronje en de Islam', in: Snouck Hurgronje en de Islam*, p. 61.
[254] Witkam, 'Introduction', in: Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, 2007, p. 26.
[255] Kuitenbrouwer, Tussen Oriëntalisme en wetenschap, p. 70. Other sources don't mention the amount give by the KITLV: Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, 2007 (2007), p. 26. Van Koningsveld, 'Snouck Hurgronje zoals hij was', in: *Snouck Hurgronje en de Islam,* p. 61.
[256] Witkam, 'Introduction', in: Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, 2007, p. 26. Kuitenbrouwer unlike Witkam says that the KITLV remunerated the study trip to Mecca.
[257] Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, 2007, p. 569.
[258] H.W. Van den Doel, 'Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje, de stralende zon van het Leidse heelal', 1998, p. 216.
[259] H. De Jonge, 'Contradictionary and against the grain. Snouck Hurgronje on the Hadramis in the Dutch East Indies (1889-1936)', 221.
[260] In colonial times, the Hadramis were always called Arabs, so when Snouck wrote about Arabs in the East Indies, he primarily referred to Hadramis, unless explicitly stated otherwise. See: De Jonge, 'Contradictionary and against the grain. Snouck Hurgronje on the Hadramis in the Dutch East Indies

viewed the Hadrami travellers who went to the East Indies to be less to fear than Mekkans because their only purpose was of religious nature. Mekkans who travelled to the East Indies in contrary to the Hadramis often had an economic ulterior motive and were according to Snouck Hurgronje purely exploiters.[261]

In the East Indies Snouck Hurgronje kept aquantainces among Hadramis, who formed the majority among Arab immigrants there. But some of his advice to the Dutch-Indian government gave a more critical view compared to those he formulated in *Mekka*. On January 21, 1895 Snouck Hurgronje wrote that the fact that most of the Hadramis who came to the Indies were poor and brought up under conditions of misery and lack of knowledge, justified a limit of immigration of them to the East Indies. In the view of Snouck Hurgronje the Hadramis also contributed little or nothing useful to the East Indian society. He admitted that they also had some positive influence on the indigenous population but found that the influence was mostly harmful.[262] Snouck Hurgronje was afraid of pan-Islamic networks and therfore he in fact held an equivoral position on the Hadramis in the East Indies.

In the East Indies the Hadramis were, as other foreigners, obliged to live in certain neighbourhoods and not allowed to move around freely. This separate status aroused anger among the affected and the Arabs (inclusive the Hadramis) sought understanding and help for their situation from the Turkish consul who was stationed in Batavia. Snouck Hurgronje feared that the Hadramis tried to gain support in the Islamic world to turn against Dutch colonial rule.[263] But Snouck Hurgronje was against irrational discrimination and thought that Arabs in general were often treated badly and discriminated against by officials in the East Indies.[264] Also other foreigners had to live in distinct quarters that formed small settlements. For example, there was a large population of Chinese in the East Indies, by number even greater than that of Arabs. Snouck Hurgronje thought that these settlements needed to be

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(1889-1936)'. For sources about the Hadrami and Indonesia see: Frode F. Jacobsen, *Hadrami Arabs in Present-day Indonesia. An Indonesia-oriented group with an Arab signature*, Routledge, 2008. Natalie Mobini-Kesheh, *The Hadrami awakening: community and identity in the Netherlands East Indies 1900-1942*, Ithaca, 1999. Gustav Fuhrmann, *Die Ausbreitung der Hadrami (Hadarim) im Raume des Indischen Ozeans und ihre Rückwirkung auf Hadramaut*, Dissertation Heidelberg, 1943. Sources are not consulted.

[261] Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, 2007, p. 475.

[262] Gobée, E. and C. Adriaanse (ed.), *Ambtelijke adviezen van C. Snouck Hurgronje 1889-1936*, vol. II, 1957, p. 1533.

[263] H. De Jonge, 'Contradictionary and against the grain. Snouck Hurgronje on the Hadramis in the Dutch East Indies (1889-1936)', 2002, p. 227.

[264] Gobée, E. and C. Adriaanse (ed.), *Ambtelijke adviezen van C. Snouck Hurgronje 1889-1936*, vol. II, p. 1534.

integrated into the indigenous society. He believed that only integration could neutralize their potentially negative influence in the political and religious field.[265]

One of the Arabs that Snouck Hurgronje had intensive contact with in the East Indies was: Sayyid ‘Uthmân ibn ‘Abd Allâh ibn ‘Aqîl ibn Yahyâ al-‘Alawî (1822-1914). Sayyid ‘Uthmân was a Batavian scholar of Arab descent. Sayyid ‘Uthmân was one of the most productive Islamic scholars in the Indies of his time. His official title ran ‘Honorary Adviser on Arab Affairs’ and he worked as adviser on Muslim affairs for the Dutch colonial administration. In Sayyid ‘Uthmân’s view it was possible to combine a life as pious Muslim with being a loyal servant of the ‘infidel’ Dutch government.[266] In 1886 Snouck Hurgronje published two articles on him in the *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant.* In these articles Snouck Hurgronje stressed the importance of Sayyid ‘Uthmân for the policy on Islam in the East Indian colony. The two men had at that moment not met met, however the same year, Sayyid ‘Uthmân wrote Snouck Hurgronje to ask for advice on how to improve the image of the Arabs living in the Dutch East Indies.

When Snouck Hurgronje arrived in the East Indies in 1889 one of the first things he did was to propose to the Dutch administration that Sayyid ‘Uthmân become his assistent. Sayyid ‘Uthmân became the informant of Snouck Hurgronje. To not undermine Sayyid ‘Uthmân’s authority among his co-religionists, Snouck Hurgronje payed Sayyid ‘Uthmân’s salary discreetly by himself.[267]

2.2 On course to Jeddah

In early August 1884 Snouck Hurgronje began the journey by ship together with Kruyt from The Netherlands to Jeddah. On August 28, they arrived at their destination after being underway of more than three weeks. Located at the Red Sea, Jeddah is the port of Mecca, where all oversea *hajjis* arrived. Snouck Hurgronje would later write about the special role Jeddah had by this fact. Foot on shore and Snouck Hurgronje became sick, but after three weeks he had adapted to the climate.[268] His first residence in Jeddah was at the Dutch consulate, which was the residence of Kruyt. It was an

[265] De Jonge, ‘Contradictionary and against the grain, p. 224
[266] N. Kaptein, ‘Sayyid Uthmân on the legal validity of documentary evidence’, 1997, p. 85
[267] Kaptein, p. 95
[268] Snouck Hurgronje, *Orientalism and Islam. The letters of C. Snouck Hurgronje to Th. Nöledeke*, Van Koningsveld (ed.), Leiden: Rijksuniversiteit Leiden, 1985, p. 3.

excellent place to come into contact with Dutch East Indies *hajjis* who all visited the consulate for a visa.[269] Kruyt offered Snouck Hurgronje great hospitality and he provided him with his first contacts. One of them was Pieter Nicolaas van der Chijs, a shipping agent who mainly transported *hajjis* and soon became friend with Snouck Hurgronje. This Van der Chijs had been a resident of Jeddah for ten years and spoke a kind of Arabic. He had traveled in areas around Mecca and was in possession of a good network stretching around the Red Sea, from Suez in Egypt to the coast of Sudan and Yemen. Van der Chijs was honorary vice-consul for both the Netherlands and Sweden (inclusive Norway that then was part of Sweden).[270] In a letter to Nöldeke, sent from Jeddah on October 25 1884, Snouck Hurgronje praised the weighty Dutch trading and its colonial greatness in Jeddah.[271] Snouck Hurgronje was corresponding with Van der Chijs between 1885 and 1889. The correspondence between them two was very confidential and is the only known source of Snouck Hurgronje's time in Mecca. There are about ninety letters preserved from this correspondence.[272]

Another European whom Snouck Hurgronje got to know during his stay at the consulate was the Dutch archaeologist Dr. J.L.A. Brandes (1857-1905). Brandes had a stopover on his travel to the East Indies. We know that Brandes and Snouck Hurgronje had already met each other in the Netherlands. The Brandes family would later be good friends of Snouck Hurgronje during his years in the East Indies and almost every week he joined them for dinner. Sometimes he brought his nephew Dirk Cramer, son of his sister Anna Maria, who was also located in the East Indies, with him. Soon after arrival in Jeddah, Kruyt already planned his transfer to his new post on the Island of Penang, Malaysia. This post was as important as Jeddah, because of its strategic location across from Aceh on the Island of Sumatra.[273]

On January 13, 1885, Kruyt left Jeddah for Penang.[274] From May 1873 until October 1875, Kruyt worked as officer of the Dutch administration in Aceh and actively participated in the blockade that streched from the early 1870s well into the 1890s but was lifted and then restrained on numerous occasions and places. The

[269] Th. W. Juynboll, *Dr. C. Snouck Hurgronje*, Haarlem: H.D. Tjeenk Willink, 1901, p. 50.
[270] Witkam, 'Introduction', in: Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, 2007, p. 33.
[271] Snouck Hurgronje, *Orientalism and Islam. The letters of C. Snouck Hurgronje to Th. Nöledeke*. Van Koningsveld (ed.), Leiden, p. 3.
[272] Witkam, 'Introduction', in: Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, 2007, pp. 34.
[273] Witkam, p. 35.
[274] Van Koningsveld, 'Snouck Hurgronje zoals hij was (2), in: *Snouck Hurgronje en de Islam*, p. 101.

blockade served different interests of the Dutch, both to starve the Aceh resistance in order to gain power and as a tool for regulating the trade.[275] In 1877 Kruyt published a book about Aceh and the blockade.[276]

On January 1, 1885 Snouck Hurgronje left the consulate and moved to the house of a son of a West-Javanese aristocrat, Raden Aboe Bakar Djajadinginrat.[277] Snouck Hurgronje had also a Circassian servant named Khorsîd. From this moment Snouck Hurgronje called himself *Abd Al-Ghaffar* ('servant of the forgiving') and behaved as a Muslim towards Muslims.[278] For all incoming mail from Europe Snouck Hurgronje kept his address at the Dutch consulate. The conversion of Snouck Hurgronje to Islam is a fact, but there is dispute about when this took place and if it was a genuine conversion.[279] From correspondence we know that it probably happened somewhere in December 1884.[280]

In a diary note on January 5, 1885 Snouck Hurgronje described a secretive visit of a 'barber' to his new home in Jeddah, who performs circumcisions on "a wide variety of ages".[281] This note was immediately followed by a part about 'wound care', which gives the impression that he referred to his own circumcision.[282] It is assumed that from this day he was circumcised.[283] Circumcision is not prescribed in the Qur'an, but the prophet Ibrâhîm did go through this surgery that is mentioned in some Sunnas. For this reason some Islamic law regards it as mandatory. Especially the *Shafi'i* school considers it important.[284] Circumcision was common practice in pre-Islamic Arabia, Egypt and Ethiopia and through the work of Al-Shafi'i this custom was considered an obligation. The jurist Al-Shafi'i searched for an interrelationship of the sources that separated rival schools of law in the 9th century.[285] Shafi'i synthesized these schools and accumulated a legal system that left a mark upon Islamic law.[286] Al-Shafi'i underlined the importance of Traditions from the Prophet as

[275] E. Tagliacozzo, *Secret trades, Porous Borders. Smuggling and states along a Southeast Asian Frontier, 1865-1915*, 2007, p. 91
[276] J.A. Kruyt, *Atjeh en Atjehers: twee jaren blokkade op Sumatra's Noord-Oost kust*, Leiden, 1877.
[277] See: F. Laffan, 'Aboe Bakar: an introductory note concerning Snouck Hurgronje's informant in Jeddah (1884-1912)', in: *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 155, no 4, Leiden, 1999.
[278] M. Blessing, 'De Islamquaestie', in: *Trouw*, February 17, 2007.
[279] Witkam, 'Introduction', in: Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, p. 67.
[280] Witkam, p. 59.
[281] Witkam, p. 67.
[282] Witkam, p. 69.
[283] Blessing, 'De Islamquaestie', in: *Trouw*, February 17, 2007.
[284] Witkam, 'Introduction', in: Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, p. 69.
[285] Shâfi'î', *Islamic Jurisprudence*. Shâfi'î' Risâla, M. Khadduri (ed.), p. 6.
[286] Shâfi'î', p. 21.

the second source of law,[287] and gave it an equal footing to the Qur'an.[288] He brought the prophetic *sunnah* to the field of Islamic jurisprudence and indicated its specific role as a source of law.[289] The final theory of Islamic law was largely based on the efforts of Al-Shafi'i. This 'classic theory' of Islamic law comprised four principles: the *Qur'an*, the *sunnah* of prophet Muhammad as contained in recognized Traditions, *qiyas* or the method of reasoning by analogy, and *ijma'* or the consensus of scholars of the community. These four principles already existed in Islamic law, but it was Al-Shafi'i who systematized the elements into a theory[290]

Witkam notes that in 1885 the Shafi'i was the most important school in Mecca, something that Snouck Hurgronje was aware of.[291] Snouck Hurgronje noted in *Mekka* that although the *Shafi'i* school had become geographically limited because of the Ottoman protection of the Hanafi School, the Shafi'i School kept an important intellectual and sacred position in Mecca. While the ruling establishment of West-Arabia followed the Hanafi School, the population of West-Arabia remained Shafi'ites.[292] Shafi'i was also the greatest school in the East Indies, which of course was important if Snouck Hurgronje wanted to come in contact with hajjis from the East Indies and/or Meccan inhabitants from the East Indies.[293]

Aboe Bakar would teach Snouck Hurgronje Malay, a language next to Arabic that Snouck Hurgronje needed if he in Mecca wanted to observe and live among the Javanese community.[294] Snouck Hurgronje must have had a remarkable talent to pick up a spoken language. Besides Malay he did in Jeddah also quickly pick up spoken Arabic. Later, during his stay in the Dutch East Indies he added more languages to this list, among others Sundanese[295], Javanese and Acehnese language.[296] Snouck Hurgronje wrote and spoke about fifteen languages.[297] It was Aboe Bakar who gave Snouck Hurgronje important information about the community of the East Indies living in Mecca. Aboe Bakar was the link to this community; the dairy notes that

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[287] Waines, *An introduction to Islam*, 2nd ed., 2003, p. 69.
[288] Shâfi'î', *Islamic Jurisprudence*. Shâfi'î' Risâla, M. Khadduri (ed.), p. 35.
[289] Shâfi'î', p. 26.
[290] Waines, *An introduction to Islam*, p. 69.
[291] Witkam, 'Introduction', in: Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, p. 69.
[292] Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, transl. by Witkam, p. 429.
[293] Remark (C.C.).
[294] All Muslim hajjis who belonged to the Malay race were called ''Djawa''. See: Snouck Hurgronje (1907), p. 21.
[295] Sundanese langage (Basa Sunda, language of Sunda) is spoken on West-Java, Indonesia. See:
[296] Witkam, 'Introduction', in: Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, p. 51.
[297] R. Stiphout, 'Snouck Hurgronje: Grootste Islamkenner aller tijden', 2006, p. 88.

Snouck Hurgronje wrote on the basis of their discussions were later incorporated in the fourth chapter of *Mekka*.[298]

The Algerian Sî Azîz ibn al-Sheikh al-Hâddâd was another man that Snouck Hurgronje got to know in Jeddah. Sî Azîz had been in exile in French New Caledonia but somehow the French had released him and was he located in Arabia. This Sî Azîz hoped that Snouck Hurgronje would choose him as partner in Mecca, but Snouck Hurgronje chose Aboe Bakar. It was this Sî Azîz who eventually triggered, was the main instigator behind Snouck Hurgronje's expulsion from Mecca. After his conversion Snouck Hurgronje was successfully accepted among Muslims, and he was permitted by the Ottoman governor Othman Nûrî Pasha to travel to Mecca.[299] His diary that he kept in Jeddah ends on February 5, 1885. There is no diary from Mecca.[300]

2.3 Mecca

On February 21, 1885 Snouck Hurgronje began his journey on a camel to Mecca. The carriage had a total of four camels of which three carried the luggage and the fourth Snouck Hurgronje with his travel companion Aboe Bakar Djajadiningrat. Moreover, they were accomopanied by camel drivers.[301] In the morning of February 22 Snouck Hurgronje entered the city of Mecca. He was the first Dutchmen to do so. When Snouck Hurgronje entered Mecca he had to show that he was circumcised.[302]

Immediately upon arrival in Mecca Snouck Hurgronje performed the *tawâf,* or the circling aroung the Ka'ba seven times, in an anti-clockwise direction. By the circling a Muslim greets the house of God and it demonstrates the unity of believers in the worship in the one God. Valuable information about his stay here is to be found in his correspondence with Van der Chijs that they kept between 1885 and 1889, which consists of approximately ninety letters.[303] Some of these letters are published in the introduction of the Dutch edition of *Mekka*, translated and introduced by Jan Just Witkam.

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[298] Witkam, 'Introduction', in: Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, p. 71.
[299] Witkam, 'Introduction', in: Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, p. 80
[300] Witkam, p. 83.
[301] Witkam, p. 87.
[302] Van Koningsveld, 'Oriëntalistiek als koloniale hulpwetenschap: Snouck Hurgronje's "bekering" tot de Islam', in: *Snouck Hurgronje en de Islam,* p. 81.
[303] Witkam, 'Introduction', in: Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, p. 34.

To Nöldeke, Snouck Hurgronje wrote that he mainly wanted to study Islam in practice, the observation of daily life of *ulama* as well of non-learned people in the center of Islamic life. He was also interested in what influence(s) this Islamic 'center' had on the *ummah* visiting Mecca. Snouck Hurgronje stressed that as a Dutchmen, he was in particular interested in the significant influence of the 'center' of Islam on the Dutch East Indies. It is clear that Snouck Hurgronje fully enjoyed the observation of daily life, something he couldn't learn from books.[304] Within a few weeks after arrival in Mecca, Snouck Hurgronje had bought himself an Abyssinian female slave, something that he told Van der Chijs about in their correspondence. Having a concubine made Snouck Hurgronje in Mecca better socially equipped and besides she was a good source about woman's life in Mecca. [305]

In a letter to Goldziher, dated January 16, 1885, Snouck Hurgronje had written to his friend that he probably was going to Mecca very soon and that absolutely no one was aloud to get to know about that.[306] Also in a letter to Nöldeke, dated August 1, 1885 Snouck Hurgronje wrote that he hadn't announced his trip to Mecca to anybody else in Europe and added that it was better for everybody that this information stayed concealed. One of the reasons for this measure was the issue Huber/Euting.[307] Coincidently it was exactly this issue, which later led to Snouck Hurgronje's forced earlier departure from Mecca. Shortly before Snouck Hurgronje arrived in Jeddah a Frenchman named Charles Huber (1847-1884)[308] was murdered by his Bedouin guides in the desert north of Jeddah. It was not completely unusual that foreigners, especially Christians, were murdered then in this region. But this case was different and ultimately determined the length of Snouck Hurgronje's stay in Mecca.

In short the past history. In 1880 Huber and Euting explored the interior of the Arabian Peninsula.[309] In particular archeological locations had their interest and at

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[304] Snouck Hurgronje, *Orientalism and Islam. The letters of C. Snouck Hurgronje to Th. Nöledeke*, Van Koningsveld (ed.), Leiden: Rijksuniversiteit Leiden, 1985, p. 10.
[305] Witkam, 'Introduction', in: Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, p. 99.
[306] Snouck Hurgronje, *Scholarship and friendship in early Islamwissenschaft: the letters of C. Snouck Hurgronje to I. Goldziher from the Oriental Collection of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest*, 1985, p. 43.
[307] Snouck Hurgronje, *Orientalism and Islam. The letters of C. Snouck Hurgronje to Th. Nöledeke*. Published by: P. Sj. van Koningsveld, Leiden, p. 9.
[308] Charles Huber, French doctor from Strasbourg (Alsace was since 1871 part of the Deutsches Reich)
[309] The source Witkam, 'Introduction', in: Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, 2007, gives different dates for when Huber and Euting acctually discovered the stele at first time. p. 125 says 1880 and p. 44 says

one of these sites, the oases Tayma', they discovered a stele with an old Aramaic inscription. The French version goes that Huber bought the stele from the owner who had until then used it as building material for his house. On February 17, 1884 Huber and Euting were once again in Tayma' and saw the stele once more but without taking it with them. Only in July 1884 Huber traveled back to pick up the stone. At this time he already commissioned the consul in Jeddah to arrange the transport of the stele to France as soon it arrived in there. The German version is slightly different, Huber hadn't bought the stone at the time of the finding and he not even realized the value of it. Besides, the imitations that Huber and Euting had made of the stele were preserved in Strasbourg, at that moment part of the Deutsche Reich.[310] Based on drawings gained by Euting, Nöldeke was the first to publish about this treasure. But his publication caused unrest in the already ongoing race between French and German Orientalists about the ownership of this stele.[311] The French government was the financier of Huber's whole project and of course it had prestige and significance in the competition with the Deutsche Reich.

On July 29, 1884, on the way to pick up the stone, Huber was murdered. By the absence of the French consul and vice-consul at the time of the murder, Kruyt acted as deputy of the French Republic. Besides the information that Snouck Hurgronje got from Kruyt, Snouck Hurgronje stood also in contact with Nöldeke, who had obtained information from Euting and already published on it.

In February 1885 Sî Azîz was secretly assigned by the French Consul De Lostalot to pick up the Tayma' stele and the luggage of Huber and Euiting, which was kept by the emir Al Rashid in Hâ'il. Officially Sî Azîz was going to Medina. But Sî Azîz couldn't keep the real purpose of his trip secret and told Snouck Hurgronje about it just a couple of days before he left for Mecca. Snouck Hurgronje must have understood that it was not without danger that he knew about the real purpose of the trip of Sî Azîz as Snouck Hurgronje knew all German scholars concerned and could easily pass on the information. And just before Snouck Hurgronje left for Mecca he did pass on the information to Euting. Snouck Hurgronje also wrote a letter to the French consul De Lostalot, who was in France at that moment, to assure him that he

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1883. Huber had a mission in the Arabian peninsula between 1878-1882, and then again 1882-1884 see: >http://www.louvre.fr/llv/commun/home.jsp<

[310] Witkam, 'Introduction', in: Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, p. 125.

[311] Nöldeke, 'Altaramäische Inschriften aus Teimâ (Arabien)', in: *Sitzungsberichte der Preussichen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Berlin, 1884, p. 813-820.

would not try to take possession of the stele. Snouck Hurgronje further told De Lostalot about his letter to Euting. De Lostalot in turn assured that he would keep Snouck Hurgronje's trip to Mecca secretly. The whole consular community in Jeddah knew about Snouck Hurgronje's trip.[312]

But when delivering the luggage and the stele to the consul De Lostalot, Sî Azîz had changed his mind about the pre-arragend amount that he was going to receive for this service and told the consul that he had a second buyer of the stele and that was Snouck Hurgronje! It is not known if the French consul indeed paid more than the pre-arranged amount, but the stele arrived in France. Back in France De Lostalot could not hold back the information about the opponents in the struggle to get the stele to France, namely Abd-al-Ghaffâr in Mecca (Snouck Hurgronje) and Euting in Damascus.[313] Via detours in the French and German press, and in Turkey and Egypt, there was a rumour that the 'true' Snouck Hurgronje, a Christian, actually was a trader of inscriptions. This rumour was supported by the French side, as they considered all involved people who seemed to be against the French ownership of the stele as enemies. Snouck Hurgronje thought De Lostalot being a limited man because he didn't understand that if he really had been involved in any conspiracy to get the stele he wouldn't have told De Lostalot about his letter to Euting. The stele, known as the Tayma' stone, is today still to be seen in the Louvre, Paris.[314]

A few months later, on August 5, 1885, Snouck Hurgronje's stay in Mecca came to an abrupt end because of this issue.[315] Snouck Hurgronje was accused of having Huber's property in his possession, what was not true, and he was forced to leave Mecca.[316] Unfortunately Snouck Hurgronje was expelled just before the *hajj* was about to start so that he could not attend it. Still he had got an image of the *umrah,* of Mecca and its population preparing for the *hajj*. Snouck Hurgronje was forced to leave Mecca and was guided back to the port of Jeddah, where he first had to stay for ca. 6 weeks before he got his belongings back from Mecca.

In Jeddah, Snouck Hurgronje tried to come in contact with people that may have had more information about his 'deportation'. The Algerian Sî Azîz, with whom he earlier had been in contact and who had put Snouck Hurgronje in a poor light,

[312] Witkam, 'Introduction', in: Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, p. 126.
[313] Witkam, p. 128.
[314] Witkam, p. 44. See also the website of the Louvre: >http://www.louvre.fr/llv/commun/home.jsp<.
[315] Van Koningsveld, Oriëntalistiek als koloniale hulpwetenschap: Snouck Hurgronje's "bekering" tot de Islam', in: *Snouck Hurgronje en de Islam,* p. 88.
[316] Witkam, 'Introduction', in: Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, p. 47.

ensured him that at least there was no doubt about his conversion to Islam.[317] The former plans to stay in Medina and Egypt hereby failed.[318] From Jeddah Snouck Hurgronje went to Alexandria. On September 27 Snouck Hurgronje wrote a letter to Goldziher from Hotel Abbat, Alexandria in which he apologized that the planned trip to Medina, because of his 'deportation,' and also a visit to Cairo had to be canceled. Snouck Hurgronje further told Goldziher that he would take the next steamer to Trieste, and from there, via Munich, Basel and Strasbourg back to Leiden. In Strasbourg he stayed three days with family Euting before he travelled back home.[319] On October 17, 1885 Snouck Hurgronje arrived in Leiden.[320] At the same day a box of objects, most of them utensiles he had sent from Mecca, arrived as well. In Witkam's edition of *Mekka*, some of these objects are depicted.[321] In 1909 Snouck Hurgronje donated these objects to the National Museum of Ethnology (Museum Volkenkunde) in Leiden where they are still part of the collection.[322]

Snouck Hurgronje's first article after return was 'Aus Arabiën', which was published in *Münchener Allgemeine Zeitung* on Monday, November 16, 1885, as well as under the title 'Mijn reis naar Arabië' in the *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant.*[323] Snouck Hurgronje also sent a copy of this article to Renan in Paris.[324] This was followed by the article 'The Islam' ('De Islam') in 1886, which was published in *De Gids.* On April 21, 1888, Snouck Hurgronje was appointed member of the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences (KNAW).[325] On April 27, 1906 Bavinck also became member of the Academy. Since then the two friends met each other regularly.[326]

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[317] Van Koningsveld, Oriëntalistiek als koloniale hulpwetenschap: Snouck Hurgronje's "bekering" tot de Islam', in: *Snouck Hurgronje en de Islam,* p. 88.
[318] Witkam, 'Introduction', in: Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, p. 116.
[319] Snouck Hurgronje, *Scholarship and friendship in early Islamwissenschaft: the letters of C. Snouck Hurgronje to I. Goldziher from the Oriental Collection of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest*, 1985, p. 46.
[320] Witkam, 'Introduction', in: Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, p. 131.
[321] For depticion see appendix of illustrations in Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka,* 2007.
[322] Witkam, 'Introduction', in: Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, p. 180.
[323] Source 1: Th W. Juynboll, *Dr. C. Snouck Hurgronje*, Haarlem: H.D. Tjeenk Willink, 1901, p. 49, says that it was published on 16 November. Source 2: Snouck Hurgronje (1923-1927, volume VI) says 26 and 27 November, p. 589.
[324] Witkam, 'Introduction', in: Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, p. 133.
[325] De Bruijn and G. Harinck, (ed.), *Een Leidse Vriendschap,* p. 162.
[326] De Bruijn and G. Harinck, p. 11.

Snouck Hurgronje's travel to Arabia resulted in the two-volume work *Mekka*,[327] which was published in 1888 and 1889. Along with this work, a separate photo album was published. Before his departure to Jeddah, Snouck Hurgronje received instructions from his friend Van Romburgh about how he could build a barrel for distillation for developing photos. According to Witkam, Snouck Hurgronje didn't give us much information about who acctually took these photos.[328] However, in the preface of *Mekka* part 1 Snouck Hurgronje writes that all photos were either taken by himself or by an Arab who he had taught the art of photography.[329] In a letter drafted on February 16, 1885 to Goldziher, Snouck Hurgronje wrote that he succesfully had photographed various nationalities of hajjis who visited the Dutch consulate in Jeddah.[330] Also in the correspondences with Van der Chijs Snouck Hurgronje mentioned the photographing; the material he needed and asked to receive in Mecca.[331] Furthermore, Snouck Hurgronje wrote to Van der Chijs on April 1885 that his namesake, the doctor 'Abd al-Ghaffâr, wanted to provoke one or another scholar to declare a *fatwa* that photography not needed to be ranked as prohibited (*haram*) images. Snouck Hurgronje doubted it would succeed but added that his namesake 'Abd al-Ghaffâr was a very liberal man. [332] Snouck Hurgronje wrote to Van der Chijs that even some women requested to be photographed unveiled. By the way, Snouck Hurgronje called the woman with such a request "vermin".[333] In *Mekka* some photos of low quality are replaced by lithographies.[334] In a letter on on April 18, 1885 to Van der Chijs, Snouck Hurgronje wrote that a bottle of cognac would be particularly welcome and he added that if the bottle was wrapped up there was no risk it would be discovered as no supplies were opened when entering Mecca.[335] In a letter on July 2, 1885 Snouck Hurgronje wrote that he had difficulty during Ramadan because he was not good at fasting.[336]

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[327] Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka. Mit Bilder-Atlas*, part I *Die Stadt und Ihre Herren*, in 1888 and in 1889, *Mekka*, part II *Aus dem heutigen Leben*.
[328] See: Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, 2007, *illustration by Mekka.*
[329] The introduction of Mekka part I (The Hague 1888) is published in: Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, transl. by Witkam, 2007, p. 568.
[330] Snouck Hurgronje, *Scholarship and friendship in early Islamwissenschaft: the letters of C. Snouck Hurgronje to I. Goldziher from the Oriental Collection of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest*, 1985.
[331] See: Witkam, 'Introduction', in: Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, p. 104.
[332] Witkam, p. 108.
[333] Witkam, p. 119.
[334] See: Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, 2007, *illustration by Mekka.*
[335] Witkam, 'Introduction', in: Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, p. 108.
[336] Witkam, p. 118.

Snouck Hurgronje wrote *Mekka* in German, the international language of Orientalists at that time. He justified his choice of German towards the Dutch "ultra-patriotic critics"[337] with that one writes to be read. The first volume got the title: *Mekka. Die Stadt und ihre Herrren* and is a topographical description of Mecca and a complete history of the city from the time of Muhammad until 1885; it was partly based on secondary sources and partly on own observations. The second volume is entitled: *Mekka. Aus dem heutigen Leben* and focuses on contemporary data and consists of four chapters: Daily life in Mecca, Family life in Mecca, Learning in Mecca and The Jâwa. Much of the material for the second part Snouck Hurgronje acquired from Aboe Bakar Djajadiningrat whom he had got to know during his stay in Jeddah.[338]

Aboe Bakar did, besides teaching Snouck Hurgronje Malayan, also teach him about the order of the *Naqshbandiyya*, a reformed Sufi brotherhood with origins in fourteenth century central Asian Bukhara that by the end of the sixteenth century had reached India. From India it later spread westwards to Damascus and Mecca and Eastwards to the East Indies. All from the beginning Islam in India had been propagated mainly by Sufis, who enjoyed success among both Hindu and Buddhist populations. Islam was foremost attractive for lower-cast Hindus because of egalitarian Islamic values. *Naqshbandiyya* had an attitude of stricter obedience to the law and the prophetic Traditions, *hadith*, than other brotherhoods. One of their ideas was that if only the government reformed after their system, the society would follow. So their strategy was to influence members of the ruling establishment.[339]

Sufi brotherhoods were wide spread in the East Indies and served as a channel for the dissemination of spiritual knowledge and therefore often worked as a bridge between local forms of Islam. Snouck Hurgronje had a thorough knowledge of the Sufis and the syncretistic charachter of Islam in the East Indies.[340] Another famous connection between Mecca and the Indian archipelago was the Sufi 'Abd al-Ra'uf al-Sinkili (d. 1693) who traveled from Aceh, Sumatra to the holy cities of Mecca and

[337] Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, transl. by Witkam, p. 570.
[338] Van Koningsveld therefore thought that *Mekka* was overrated and that Snouck Hurgronje got too much prestige he did not deserve according to him. See: Van Koningsveld, Oriëntalistiek als koloniale hulpwetenschap: Snouck Hurgronje's "bekering" tot de Islam', in: *Snouck Hurgronje en de Islam,* p. 88. p. 112. Witkam acknowledged that not all sources are direct impressions of Snouck Hurgronje, but Witkam, in contrary to Van Koningsveld sees Snouck Hurgronje as the one who brought everything together and published it. See: Witkam, 'Introduction', in: Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, 2007, p. 167.
[339] Waines, *An introduction to Islam*, p. 189.
[340] I. Katkova, 'Sufi Manuscripts from Aceh and Minangkabu', 2008, p. 10.

Medina (*al-Haramayn*) where he stayed and studied for nearly twenty years before returning to Aceh.[341]

Only one chapter of the second part of *Mekka*, about science, is in its entirety based on own observations.[342] More than once Snouck Hurgronje wrote that abroad, not only your eye makes a visit, but also your ears. Therefore he often kept the spelling of the spoken language as much as possible. In *Mecca* the spelling of Arabic words for that reason deliberately deviates from transliterations of European philologists.[343] In the late 1890's Snouck Hurgronje started to experiment with phonography and studied the reactions by Islamic scholars, especially for their ideas about the mechanical reproduction of the Qur'an. But also the possibilities to record linguistics and musicology had Snouck Hurgronje's interest and in 1906 he sent his phonograph to Hidjaz and had numerous records made in Jeddah and Mecca. A total of 11 cylinders with slightly less than 23 minutes of Quranic recordings were made. Today these sound-recordings are kept in the library of Leiden University.[344]

In the preface, Snouck Hurgronje noted that: "the colonies of India, Turkey and the Central Asians in Mecca deserved to be discussed",[345] but he limited himself to the Java colony, as "their life and Dutch aims are of utmost importance".[346] Besides, Snouck Hurgronje found that the Java colony was more influenced than other groups by the spiritual life of Mecca. Colonies should be interpretated as groups of Muslims who stayed in Mecca for a longer time and even gained civil rights, in contrary to *hajjis*, who just visited Mecca around the pilgrim season. Snouck Hurgronje considered Mecca not merely a place of pilgrimage, and according to Snouck Hurgronje this view distinguished him from his predecessors.[347] The colonies of the East Indies were comparatively wealthy and therefore attracted the attention of many Meccans. Snouck Hurgronje also thought it was unjustified that all East Indies were first put in quarantine on an island where everything was twice as expensive as

[341] Waines, *An introduction to Islam*, p. 204.
[342] Van Koningsveld, 'Snouck Hurgronje alias Abdoel-Ghaffar. Enige historisch-kritische kanttekeningen', in: *Snouck Hurgronje en de Islam,* p. 112.
[343] Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, transl. by Witkam, 2007, p. 184.
[344] See: *The audio-visual dimension. Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje's documentation of sights and sounds of Arabia*. Lecture held by J.J. Witkam at the Workshop 'Scholarship in action views on life and work of Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (1857-1936)', Leiden, February 16, 2007.
[345] Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, transl. by Witkam, p. 187.
[346] Snouck Hurgronje, p. 187.
[347] Snouck Hurgronje, p. 187.

on the mainland and where they had to pay taxes. In his view there was no other purpose of this than exploitation.[348]

In the English translation of *Mekka vol.2* done by J.H. Monahan in 1938,[349] whole sections of the original manuscript are omitted. Snouck Hurgronje took part in the final editing of this publication.[350] Monahans translation was reissued in 2007 with an introduction by Witkam.[351] Was his view on this topic updated or changed due to his experiences in the Dutch East Indies? Especially the parts about sexual debauchery among the Meccans are left out in the edition of Monahan. For that reason, Witkam chose the original German manuscript for his Dutch edition in 2007, and did not leave anything out in his translation. It should be noted that Snouck Hurgronje reports about the inhabitants of Mecca, not on 'Muslims in general'. He comments on their way of life and does sometimes compare this behavior to the rules of Islamic law.[352]

Remarkable of *Mekka* is that Snouck Hurgronje describes inhabitants of Mecca as merely greedy and calculating. In this book he stripped some important aspects of the history of Islam of their sacredness and reduced them to instances of opportunity, strategy and power politics, and he detected materialistic motives behind religious belief. But this does not mean that the inhabitants of Mecca are generally put into a bad light. Snouck Hurgronje did devote a comprehensive part to describe everything about marriage in the chapter 'Family life' in *Mekka*. Snouck Hurgronje discussed the practice of polygamy but stated that the idea of a 'harem' is European imagination. According to Snouck Hurgronje polygamy was particularly widespread among the elite. The rich were the only ones who could afford it as the Islamic law says that each woman in Mecca has the right to her own home.[353] Especially the women in Mecca were spoiled by debauchery, and most of them were married to several men during their life according to Snouck Hurgronje. Marriage among the

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[348] Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, transl. by Witkam, p. 473.
[349] Monahan, *Mekka in the latter part of the 19th century: daily life, customs and learnings of the Moslims of the East-Indian-archipelago*, by Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (transl. from German), London: Luzac, 1931. Snouck Hurgornje took part in the edition of this publication. Parts were left out, sometimes even a whole paragraph from the German text.
[350] Snouck Hurgronje, Mekka, 2007, p. 183.
[351] Witkam, 'Introduction', in: Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, p. 183.
[352] See for example: Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, vol. 2, 2007.
[353] The Qur'an allows a man to have up to four wives at one time (4:3). But it was not intended as an encouragement to do so, rather as restricting prevailing central Arabia custom of unlimited polygamy. The same verse of this Surah, also urges that each woman should be treated equally, if not only one wife was permitted. The majority of early jurists took this position. See: Waines, p. 93.

Meccans is furthermore described as particular strategic, and according to Snouck Hurgronje there is no noble conception about the marriage than "indeterminate sexual pleasure for the woman".[354] But also the men in Mecca aimed from young age constant propagation of sexual enjoyment according to him.[355]

Snouck Hurgronje also discussed the practice of temporary marriage (*nikah al'Mutah)* in Mecca. A practice only allowed for Shi'ah, however Snouck Hurgronje clarified that also Sunni Muslims used it. According to Snouck Hurgronje, as in many other cases, the Sunnie made "an agreement with the letter of the law".[356] Both Shia and Sunni Muslims agreed on that it was once allowed however Sunni Muslims believes that Muhammad later abolished it. But according to Snouck Hurgronje, Sunni made oral promises and agreements outside the contractual provisions regarding the duration of the marriage contract. In these arrangements, the sum was immediately paid to the woman and such a promise was possible as a Muslim man can repudiate his wife at any time (but is considered a *bid'ah*).[357]

In the chapter 'Family Life' Snouck Hurgronje especially praises the Abyssinian woman among the women of Mecca, as according to him, the Abyssinian woman best complied with the ideal of a woman and with the preference of the Meccan men. According to these preferences, it made no difference if the woman was not a virgin, old, young or ugly, as long as she has a "hot, dry and clean vagina".[358] It is likely that Snouck Hurgronje's words of praise are based on his own experience with an Abyssinian woman who, so goes the story, carried out an abortion after he went back to the Netherlands.[359] This Abyssinian beauty had been Snouck Hurgronje's slave and beloved in Mecca. This woman would later be used by people who wanted to damn Snouck Hurgronje. This woman asked Snouck Hurgronje to sell her before the next hajj, if not she was going to sell herself on the slave market in Mecca. Snouck Hurgronje's remarks on slavery in *Mekka* are to a high degree translations of his own experience. Still these notions would become part of the

[354] Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, transl. by Witkam, p. 295.
[355] Snouck Hurgronje, p. 295.
[356] Snouck Hurgronje, p. 339.
[357] Snouck Hurgronje, p. 339.
[358] Snouck Hurgronje, p. 314.
[359] Van Koningsveld, Oriëntalistiek als koloniale hulpwetenschap: Snouck Hurgronje's "bekering" tot de Islam', in: *Snouck Hurgronje en de Islam,* p. 88.

curriculum of Islamic studies and Indology as the used textbook in the susequents years were based on the ideas of Snouck Hurgronje and *Mekka.*[360]

In *Mekka* Snouck Hurgronje also wrote that the possibility to have intercourse with woman in Mecca also attracted the East Indians. Previously the East Indians were known for their piety, but according to Snouck Hurgronje the possibility to have intercourse with woman and all the female beauty from Egypt and Abessynia attracted more and more East Indies to come to Mecca. Especially young people were attracted by the pleasure that Mecca had to offer.[361]

In *Mekka* Snouck Hurgronje discussed and made comparisons of the slave trade by Arabs and Europeans. He criticized European experts who did not acknowledge the social revolution that would take place if slavery would be abolished in Arabia, and maintained this view in accordance with what they believed to be humanism. These experts were according to Snouk Hurgronje way too idealistic and theoretical in their thinking, without taking the consequences of abolition in consideration.[362] Snouck Hurgronje did not favor slavery, actually the opposite is true, but he didn't agree with the idealistic theory.[363] He thought that both Europeans and Arabs made use of weak states and civil wars going on in many of the African countries where the slaves came from.

Snouck Hurgronje remarked that as soon as the African slaves reached Islamic territory, they were being included into the culture of their rulers, in contrary to the European rulers who, according to Snouck Hurgronje, didn't integrate the African slaves into their culture but just exploited them. He believed that the only way to stop slavery of the people from the African continent is that they "get to know the value of life";[364] or in other words: civilization would bring slavery to an end. Snouck Hurgronje didn't believe that an abolition of slavery could solve the problems or help the inhabitants of the African continent before then. His view on slavery and colonialism is interesting for this thesis as it has much in common with his view on the future of the population of Dutch East Indies. The latter went under the label of ethical politics. Furthermore it tells us much about his general thought of the method of Islamic missionary activities. One cannot equal Snouck Hurgronje in this issue

[360] Witkam, 'Introduction', in: Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, 2007, p. 139.
[361] Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, transl. by Witkam, p. 477.
[362] Snouck Hurgronje, p. 208
[363] Snouck Hurgronje, p. 209.
[364] Snouck Hurgronje, p. 211.

with the Dutch Christian colonial thought. However, in 1922 Snouck Hurgronje was co-author of the *Proposal for a Constitution for the Dutch East Indies* (*Proeve van eene Staatsregeling voor Nederlandsch-Indië*).[365] This proposal was not written in commission by the Dutch government, Snouck Hurgronje and his co-authors wrote it on own initiative in response and as complement to former work on the subject of constitutional revision in the Dutch Indies that had been written in commission by the Dutch government. In the proposal the authors wrote: "where slavery still exists it has to be abolished as soon as possible".[366]

The Netherlands officially abolished slavery in the Caribbean on July 1, 1863. As of January 1, 1860 all slavery in the Dutch East Indies was decreed illegal but the the debate in the case of the East Indies was very divided and while the Ministry of Colonies was pro-abolition the Governor-General in Batavia was essentially pro-slavery and remained so officially until 1864. Besides there was a patchwork of different of status, many labels and registration of slaves in the East Indies, which meant that the authorities made all kinds of exceptions and sometimes even stated that there did not exist any slaves because they were not covered by the definition or registred.[367] Compared to other European countries there was in the Netherlands little debate about the principle of slavery.[368] But the ex-slaves were for 10 years forced to continue working on the plantations for a small fee. The abolition in the Caribbean was mainly an action made due to external pressure (at the congress of Vienna in 1815 participating nations agreed on abolishing slavery as soon as possible) and because of the great economic profits that the Dutch then gained of their exploitation in the Dutch East Indies.[369]

Snouck Hurgronje's visit to 'Arabia' was of great importance to him because of the contacts he made there, especially with Indonesian *hajj* travelers. Snouck Hurgronje's stay in Mecca was of substantial value for his knowledge and understanding of Islamic law as he here saw how Islamic law developed and deviated

[365] J. Oppenheim, C. Snouck Hurgronje, C. Van Vollenhoven (etc.), *Proeve van eene staatsregeling voor Nederlandsch-Indië*, Leiden: Brill, 1922.
[366] Oppenheim, Snouck Hurgronje, Van Vollenhoven (etc.), *Proeve van eene staatsregeling voor Nederlandsch-Indië*, p. 3.
[367] H. Sutherland, 'Slavery and the Slave trade in South Sulawesi, 1660s-1800s', in: Anthony Reid (ed.), *Slavery, Bondage and Dependency in Southeast Asia*, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1983, p. 274.
[368] Kuitenbrouwer, 'De Nederlandse afschaffing van de slavernij in vergelijkend perspectief', transferring from: *Bijdragen en mededelingen betreffende de geschiedenis der Nederlanden*, 93, no 1, 1978, p. 74.
[369] G. Willemsen, *Dagen van gejuich en gejubel*, 2006, p. 24.

from the ideal. He also perceived the relationship between religious law and customary law.[370] The Dutch government was very apprehensive about 'pan-Islamism'. For some, Snouck Hurgronje included, it was also out of obligation, responsibility and maybe even duty to the Netherlands, a colonial country with a huge Muslim population, to get to know more about the East Indies and its indigenous population. Snouck Hurgronje expressed it in this way: "Islam, that great INTERNATIONAL with the green banner, is a power that has to be studied earnestly and to be treated with great wisdom by a colonial power as ours".[371] But Snouck Hurgronje kept a different opinion about Islam in Dutch East Indies than most of his fellow officials in The Hague, and in earlier work such as *Mekka* he criticized Europe and European travelers in the Middle East, who according to him very often misinterpreted and denigrated Muslim society and way of living.[372]

After Snouck Hugronje's return from Arabia, he got engaged in a fierce polemic with Carlo von Landberg.[373] Snouck Hurgronje had presented a selection of eigthy proverbs as a commemorative paper at the Congress of Orientalists in Vienna in 1886. The commemorative paper was reissued as *Mekkanische Sprichwörter und Redensarten* (1886) where Snouck Hurgronje discussed these proverbs more extensive.[374] On Snouck Hurgronje's return voyage from Arabia in 1885, he had received a collection of proverbs from Abd al-Rahîm Ahmad, an Egyptian scholar who he met during this voyage. Snouck Hurgronje copied the collection of proverbs that he received and during the Easter holiday of 1886 he met Abd al-Rahîm Ahmad in the city of Lancy, located south of Geneve, where the two men worked on lexicographical and etnographical notes to the collection. However, after his return from Lacy, Snouck Hurgronje, pressed by lack of time, left the Egyptian collection for what it was.[375] Instead, he concentrated on his publication of *Mekka* and on the proverbs that he himself had collected in Mecca. He was at the same time also

[370] Moereels, *Chr. Snouck Hurgronje (8-2-1857–26-6-1936)*, p. 14.
[371] Brugman and F. Schröder, *Arabic Studies in the Netherlands*, publication of The Netherlands Institute of Archaeology and Arabic Studies in Cairo, Leiden: Brill, 1979, p. 44.
[372] Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, transl. by Witkam, p. 297.
[373] Carlo (Karl) von Landberg (1848-1924), Swedish earl and orientalist. Swedish delegate at the oriental congress in Vienna, 1886 and permanent secretary at the one in Stockholm, 1889. See: *Nordisk Familjebok*, Stockholm: Nordisk familjeboks förlags aktiebolag, 1911
[374] C. Landberg, *Critica Arabica*, Leiden: Brill, 1886. Not consulted.
[375] Vrolijk, 'Proverbial misunderstandings: the sources of Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje's collection of Egyptian proverbs', in: Der Islam, vol 79, 2002, p. 103

working on a catalogue of Malay manuscripts in the Royal Library in Berlin. The catalogue of Malay manuscripts was never published during his lifetime.[376]

In 1887 Landberg criticized Snouck Hurgronje's work in the first volume of his *Critica Arabica*. Landberg claimed that a particular Egyptian proverb that Snouck Hurgronje had discussed did not even exist in Egypt. About 'Abd al-Rahîm Ahmad, an Egyptian from whom Snouck Hurgronje had come into possession of his Egyptian proverbs, Landberg wrote: "infamous in Cairo for his ignorance".[377] In his correspondences with Nöldeke and Goldziher, Snouck Hurgronje displayed his aversion to Landberg.[378] Snouck Hurgronje replied Landberg with his venomous publication *Dr. C. Landberg's Studiën geprüft* (1887).[379] Snouck Hurgronje reminded Landberg that they had been sitting side by side at the Congress in Vienna and that Landberg then seemed to have been listening carefully to what Snouck Hurgronje had to say. Neverthless, Landberg had written Snouck Hurgronje after the Viennan Congress to ask who this 'Abd al-Rahîm Ahmad was.[380]

Between 1887 and 1889 Snouck Hurgronje was a reader and taught at Leiden University. On own initiative Snouck Hurgronje wanted to make a study journey to the Dutch East Indies and subsidize his trip with a grant from the society of Batavian Culture and Science. He received the grant and convinced the Ministry of Colonies that this journey was important and would be of great political importance. Before he left for the East Indies, Snouck Hurgronje got the opportunity to visit the archive of the Ministry of Colonies and took note of some of the present documents about the Indies. In these documents he found the name of one of his friend's from Mecca, one Moehamad Arsjad. This man had, after return from Mecca to the East Indies, been captured by the Dutch authorities because he was seen as a threat by the same authorities. Snouck Hurgronje suspected that his imprisonment was due to a misunderstanding. Snouck Hurgronje thought that there were so many misunderstandings in the Dutch East Indies because of the large gap between the European society and the indigenous population there.[381]

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[376] Vrolijk, 'Proverbial misunderstandings', p. 106.
[377] Vrolijk, p. 105.
[378] Snouck Hurgronje *Orientalism and Islam. The letters of C. Snouck Hurgronje to Th. Nöledeke*, for example: p. 14 (indirect comment), 15, 18 and C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Scholarship and friendship in early Islamwissenschaft: the letters of C. Snouck Hurgronje to I. Goldziher* for example: p. 51, 53.
[379] See: *Dr. C. Landberg's Studiën geprüft*, Leiden: Brill, 1887. Source not consulted.
[380] Vrolijk, 'Proverbial misunderstandings', p. 106.
[381] Snouck Hurgronje, 'Vergeten Jubilé's', in: Fasseur (ed.), *Geld en geweten. Een bundel opstellen over anderhalve eeuw Nederlands bestuur in de Indonesiche archipel*, II, The Hague, 1980, p. 72.

3. 1889 - 1936

3.1. Overseas

With the colony of the East Indies, Netherlands had a huge Muslim population under their wings.[382] Traditionally, Dutch attitudes towards Islam in the East Indies had been shaped by a contradictory combination of exaggerated fears and hopes-both born of a lack of adequate knowledge, if not ignorance, of Islamic matters. That meant Dutch apprehensions and misconceptions of Islam, especially of 'Muslim fanatics'. Examples of this were the 'priests' and 'popes' of Dutch literature concerning the subject. These examples reached back to the first contacts between Dutch and the Indies in the seventeenth century.[383] Islam was thought of as a tightly organized religion, similar to Roman Catholicism, with a hierarchical clergy owing allegiance to the Turkish caliph, and wielding great powers over the Indonesian rulers and their subjects. There was also a Dutch belief that the lives of Muslims were entirely regulated by Islamic law (*sharia*). Therefore there was a fear of Indonesian appeals to Muslim rulers abroad, and in these rulers hold over native life. These fears had helped shape Dutch policy of alliance with the princes and aristocracy on Java, and with sultans and local chiefs on other islands, who for reasons of their own, were considered to be either Muslim-light or outright enemies of Islamic fanaticism.

Another issue that had impact on Dutch policy towards the East Indies was that many Dutchmen had put their hopes on eliminating the influence of Islam by Christianizing the majority of Indonesians. These hopes were partly rooted in the Western belief of superiority of Christianity to Islam, and partly in the assumption that the nature of Indonesian Islam at the village level would render conversion to Christianity easier in the East Indies than in other Muslim countries. Besides in the Dutch government there was strong pressure from Christian political parties for missionary activities in the East Indies. Missionary work was subsidized by public

[382] The Netherlands had about 35 million Muslim subjects during its colonial period. See: Van der Staay, 'Heeft Snouck Hurgronje ons vandaag nog iets te zeggen?', in: *Altijd een antwoord?,* 2006, p. 11.

[383] Due to misconceptions as 'priests' and 'popes', anomies such as the socalled *priesterraad* (priests council), used to designate religious judicial tribunals, were used in the official Dutch nomenclature until the end of the colonial regime. See: J.J. Van de Velde, *De gosdienstige rechtspraak in Nederlandsch-Indië, staatsrechtelijk beschouwd*, 1928, p. 1.

funds.[384] According to Snouck Hurgronje the state should not contribute to the efforts of converting the Islamic population of the East Indies to Christianity, but if non-public Christian missionaries continued making efforts to convert the Indies, he thought it was their own business.[385] Against this background, Snouck Hurgronje spent the years 1889-1906 in the Dutch East Indies. Snouck Hurgronje's years overseas started as a study trip, but led to a service of seventeen years. The instructions of his duties were printed in the newspaper Leids Dagblad.[386] A couple of days later the same newspaper posted a note about his salary.[387]

On his own request, Snouck Hurgronje was seconded to the Dutch East Indies in 1889. On October 1, 1888 Snouck Hurgronje sent a memo to minister L.W.C. Keuchenius of the Ministry of Colonies. In this memo Snouck Hurgronje made clear that he was aware of that the Dutch government wanted information about what took place in Mecca and in what way this could have an impact on Muslims in the Dutch East Indies. Snouck Hurgronje wrote to the minister that in most cases he could provide them with the reliable information they needed. He also made a proposal about the employment of some few Javanese who could work as interpreter and translater in order to gain information. As an example of such interpreter, Snouck Hurgronje mentioned to the minister that the English consul in Jeddah already had an indigenous interpreter and a doctor who helped him to trace what happened in Mecca.[388]

End March 1889 Snouck Hurgronje left Leiden for the Dutch East Indies. On April 1, 1889 he went on board in Brindisi, Italy on the schip Massilia from the P&O Line (Peninsular & Oriental Steam Navigation Company) and sailed through the Suez Canal to the Red Sea. He did not call in at the port of Jeddah and in a letter on April 5, 1889 that he sent from the Massilia to Van der Chijs he wrote that he felt sorry to see Jeddah on such a large distance.[389] This letter was the last one in the correspondence between Snouck Hurgronje and Van der Chijs and below this letter that is published

[384] Benda, 'Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje and the Foundations of Dutch Islamic Policy in Indonesia', p. 339.
[385] Snouck Hurgronje, *Nederland en de Islam*, reissued 2nd edition Leiden: Brill, 1915, p. 86.
[386] *Leids Dagblad*, September 20, 1889.
[387] *Leids Dagblad*, September 28, 1889.
[388] Witkam, 'Introduction', in: Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, p. 168.
[389] Witkam, p. 173.

in Mekka (2007), Witkam writes that Van der Chijs did commit suicide soon after. However, Witkam doesn't know where and why he did commit it.[390]

Between 1891 and 1906, Snouck Hurgronje held the position of advisor of the Dutch Government and was stationed in Batavia. Between 1898 and 1906 he was Advisor of Indigenous and Arabic affairs. Besides giving advice he was occupied with research. From out his correspondence we know that he thought that his work as advisor sometimes took too much from his time, time that he rather had spent on research.[391] Snouck Hurgronje's presence and work in the East Indies marked the outset of Islamic studies in the Indies.[392]

With Snouck Hurgronje's stay in the East Indies, he was again able to combine theory with practical knowledge.[393] Just like his travel to Mecca, the colonial administration financed also this trip. In the absence of a policy on Islam the Dutch government sought to place restrictions upon Muslims in the East Indies. One of these restrictions was upon the *hajjis*, who were blamed for spreading fanaticism and rebelliousness in the East Indies. But the result of this and other actions was rather to be called counterproductive as the Aceh War started in 1873.[394] It was a variegated circle of politicians in the Dutch government, both conservaties and radicals, who had disapproved the declaration of war on March 26, 1873. The war was seen as a liberal adventure. Before 1870 the Dutch government pursued an abstention policy in the East Indies, which meant that territorial expansion was not a priority. The colony existed and lived on because of economical benefits.[395]

Snouck Hurgronje was pleased with his stay in the East Indies and he repeatedly uttered his preference to stay in the East Indies the rest of his life.[396] Partially the political developments in the Netherlands were a reason for him not to

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[390] Witkam, 'Introduction', in: Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, p. 175.
[391] Snouck Hurgronje, *Orientalism and Islam. The letters of C. Snouck Hurgronje to Th. Nöledeke*, Van Koningsveld (ed.), Leiden: Rijksuniversiteit Leiden, 1985, p.
[392] W. R. Roff, 'Islam Obscured? Some Reflections on Studies of Islam and Society in Southeast Asia', 1985, p. 8.
[393] P. Marijnis, 'De dubbele rol van een islam-kenner' in: NRC Handelsblad 08-12-1979.
[394] Benda, 'Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje and the Foundations of Dutch Islamic Policy in Indonesia', p. 339.
[395] S.L. Van der Wal, 'De Nederlandse expansie in Indonesië', in: Fasseur (ed.), *Geld en geweten. Een bundel opstellen over anderhalve eeuw Nederlands bestuur in de Indonesiche archipel*, II, The Hague, 1980, p. 202.
[396] Snouck Hurgronje, *Orientalism and Islam. The letters of C. Snouck Hurgronje to Th. Nöledeke*, p. 33,

return, as he did not very much like the emergence of the socialists there.[397] But his affection of the East Indies, in particularly Java, did also contribute to his preference to stay. In 1890 Snouck Hurgronje declined a professorship of Malay at Leiden University.

In a letter addressed to Herman Bavinck, dated 18 June 1895, Snouck Hurgronje told his friend that as his work had got a merely practical character he relied merely on induction. Snouck Hurgronje shared that his work in the Indies required that the gained results out of his empirical work were used to increase knowledge that was useful and used in the right away. Besides, Snouck Hurgronje thought that metaphysics was inaccessible through scientific concepts.[398] Also in a letter to Nöldeke, Snouck Hurgronje mentioned his 'practical' approach to his research object Islam.[399] Snouck Hurgronje had a predilection for how Muslims actually lived their lives and how their societies were organized. Snouck Hurgronje had an eye for the influence of the pre-Islamic history on Muslim societies and how the historical impact made these societies diverge from each other. According to Witkam, Snouck Hurgronje was particularly interested in religion as a social phenomenon.[400] De Goeje declared in his inaugural address in 1866 the importance and indispensability of Islamic study among civil servants in the East Indies.[401] Words certainly valid for Snouck Hurgronje.

Snouck Hurgronje was stationed in Batavia (current Jakarta) and before starting travelling in the colony he spent his first year overseas on Java, where he was committed to a general study of 'Islam in Dutch East Indies' and about the share Islam had in the peasants' revolt of Banten, West Java in 1888.[402] At his side, Snouck Hurgronje had the guide Hadji Hasan Moestapa, a devout man from West Java whom he had met in Mecca.[403] Snouck Hurgronje first had to formulate an advice on Muslim religious education and on measures to let the *ulama* work more 'efficiently'.

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[397] Snouck Hurgronje, *Orientalism and Islam. The letters of C. Snouck Hurgronje to Th. Nöledeke*, Van Koningsveld (ed.), p. 33.
[398] De Bruijn and G. Harinck (ed.), (ed.), *Een Leidse Vriendschap. De briefwisseling tussen Herman Bavinck en Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje 1875-1921,* p. 147.
[399] Snouck Hurgronje, *Orientalism and Islam. The letters of C. Snouck Hurgronje to Th. Nöledeke*, p. 10.
[400] Witkam, 'Introduction', in: Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, 2007, p. 44.
[401] Otterspeer, 'The ethical imperative', p. 205.
[402] Blessing, 'De Islamquaestie, in: *Trouw*, 17 February 2007.
[403] Steenbrink, 'Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (1857-1936) en Atjeh', in: *Atjeh: de verbeelding van een koloniale oorlog*, Liesbeth Dolk (ed.), Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 2001, p. 86

In 1890 he published a report on Muslim religious laws.[404] In 1890, in the *Report on the Mohammedan Religious Administration of Law* (*Rapport over de Mohammedaansche Godsdienstige Rechtspraak)* he treated the subject of *sharia* and what it embraces. Snouck Hurgronje wrote that *sharia* law in the Dutch East Indies was exclusively law that was pronounced by a *qadi.*[405] Snouck Hurgronje stated that since the disintegration of the *Umayyad Caliphate* the influence of *sharia* was more or less restricted to religious affairs, family law and inheritance.[406] Snouck Hurgronje also found differences between Muslim countries and saw how different the situation from the first century of Islam in Arabia had developed in other societies. He made a distinction between societies where Islam was introduced from above and between societies, such as the Dutch East Indies, where it was introduced from below.[407]

According to Snouck Hurgronje the institution of *qadis* in societies as the Dutch East Indies was voluntarily accepted and introduced along with Islam. Snouck Hurgronje was aware of that the organization and duties of the *qadis* varied between areas in the Indian archipelago and that in some areas there was no *sharia* at all.[408] Snouck Hurgronje ascertained that in those areas where *qadis* were active they were dependent of the local rulers.[409]

Snouck Hurgronje did not complete his research work on Java, although he wrote 'Letters of a Retired Wedono' ('Brieven van een wedono-pension') in 1890. These 'letters' were published in *De Locomotief* in 1891-1892. In these 'letters' the protagonist was a retired native official of Java who explained an ignorant drunk European about the habits and religion of the Javanese people.[410] It was written as a critic toward the ignorance of the European establishment in the East Indies. In about 1890, Snouck Hurgronje discovered a tri-lingual manuscript in Arabic, Tamil, and Malay on the north coast of Java. This manuscript should serve as evidence for that Labbai, a supposed Muslim Tamil mercantile sub-caste, spread Islam to Java. After

[404] Snouck Hurgronje, *Rapport over de Mohammedaansche Godsdienstige Rechtspraak*, 1890.
[405] Van de Velde, *De gosdienstige rechtspraak in Nederlandsch-Indië, staatsrechtelijk beschouwd*, 1928, p. 1.
[406]Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide geschriften van C. Snouck Hurgronje IV*, A.J. Wensinck (ed.), 1923, p. 91.
[407] Van de Velde, *De gosdienstige rechtspraak in Nederlandsch-Indië, staatsrechtelijk beschouwd*, 1928, p. 2.
[408] Van de Velde, p. 3.
[409] Snouck Hurgronje, *The Achehnese I*, 1906, p. 93.
[410] Steenbrink, 'Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (1857-1936) en Atjeh', p. 86.

Snouck Hurgronje's discovery, these Labbai came in to focus in studies about the Islamization of Southeast Asia.[411]

In the East Indies it was common and accepted with concubinage (*njai).* After 1870 when again[412] private entrepeneurs where aloud to run a business in the Indies there was an influx of European, often single and young, men to the Indies. Concubinage was considered morally preferable to prostitution and was seen as a good solution with both moral and practical advantages. Often one of the girls who already worked in the household of the man was asked to become *njai.* If the man could not find any *njai* among his staff, he ordered one of his male servants to find one for him. The less fortune men without their own staff found their *njai* at friends home or in shops or restaurants where the indigenous girls worked. The *njai* introuduced the European men to Indian habits and culture and besides sexual intercourse acted as a housekeeper. The *njai* was the chief housekeeper in the household.[413] However, some girls were offered for sale by their own family, the attitude of the indigenous family of the girl was often ambivalent. On the one hand, based on economic motives, concubinage was stimulated. But on the other hand it was also considered a disgrace in the indigenous community. Besides, the *njai* had betrayed her religion by living with a Christian; a *kafir*. Alongside Javanse girls, there were also Japanese and Chinese *njais.* The *njai* was in a dependent position. However, sometimes these commitments grew from a commitment to a relation.[414]

Since 1848 it was legal for a Christian European to marry a non-Christian woman in the Indies. Although the responsible minister of Justice said that such mixed marriages were not wanted, a ban was considered unnecessary as a non-European woman who married a European man had to submit to the Dutch civil and commercial law, something that the Dutch administration assumed these women neither would or could comply to anyway. In the Indies there was a dual legal system. The Europeans had to keep to their own code that corresponded to the law as applied in the Netherlands. For the indigenous population and their equivalents such as the Chinese and Arabs a separate indigenous law was applied. "The Dutch East Indies was a world where two kinds of people existed: white and brown; rulers and

[411] R. Feener, 'A re-examination of the place of al-Hallaj in the development of Southeast Asian Islam', p. 574.
[412] VOC had been a company.
[413] R. Baay, *De njai. Het concubinaat in Nederlands-Indië*, 2008, p. 65.
[414] Baay, p. 71.

servants."[415] From 1898 an indigenous woman who married a European automatically got a European status. Reverse, did a European woman who married an indigeonus man get an indigenous status.[416] Children born out of concubinage got the Dutch nationally if a legal recognition in the paternal line was provided. It was therefore essential that the father recognized the child.[417]

On January 9, 1890 the Indian newspaper *Soerabaya-Courant* reported on a marriage of Snouck Hurgronje. The newspaper also announced that the Resident Community of Preanger was aware of this matter. On January 13, 1890 a reader of the *Soerabaya-Courant* sent a correction to the notice of January 9. The reader noted that the fact that Snouck Hurgronje married the daughter of a Head penghoeloe was correct, but not with the daughter of the Head *penghoeloe* of Soemedang as the paper reported but with the daugther of the Head *penghoeloe* of Tjiamis. The marriage had according to the reader taken place in the mosque and according to the Islamic ritual. In January 18, 1890 the local Javanese newspaper *Locomotief* spontaneously refuted the reports of Snouck Hurgronje's marriage as gossip. The reports of Snouck Hurgronje's marriage, also reached Europe.[418] As Dutchman Snouck Hurgronje was in the Dutch East Indies officially submitted to the European civil law. This law only recognized marriages of Europeans who were married according to this law. Because it was an Islamic wedding and Snouck Hurgronje was regarded a Moslim by the indigenous population the marriage retained its validity for the indigenous community even if Snouck Hurgronje denied it against the Europeand community. Thus for the indigenous population it was considered a legitimate marriage and for the European community it could be construed as concubinage.[419]

In a letter drafted on 16 July 1890 in Weltevreden[420] to Bavinck, Snouck Hurgronje denied all 'rumours' about a marriage and blamed the whole 'story' on some talkative Europeans who were nosey according to him. Snouck Hurgronje explained to Bavinck that he moved a lot outside European circles and that fact created such gossip. But indeed somewhere in 1890 Snouck Hurgronje did marry the

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[415] Baay, *De njai*, p. 55.
[416] In 1896 there was a marriage between a European woman and a indigenous man, See: R. Baay, *De njai. Het concubinaat in Nederlands-Indië*, 2008, p. 97.
[417] Baay, *De njai,* p. 95.
[418] Van Koningsveld, 'Snouck Hurgronje: Moslim of niet?', in: *Tirade* January/February, vol. 29, 1985, p. 110.
[419] Van Koningsveld, p. 113.
[420] Weltevreden was a suburb of Batavia (today Jakarta) inhabited by Europeans during the Dutch colonial time.

Sundanese Sangkana in an Islamic way.[421] Sangkana was a 17-years old, aristocrat daughter of Raden Hadji Muhammad Ta'ib, the Head penghoeloe of Tjiamis, West-Java. Snouck Hurgronje and Sangkana had four children; Salmah Emah, Oemar, Aminah and Ibrahim.[422] For the Dutch community the marriage was kept secret, even his intimate friends back in Europe were not to be informed.

Sangkana past away in 1895, and in 1898[423] Snouck Hurgronje married another Sundanese girl, the 13-year old Siti Sadijah.[424] She was the daughter of Hadji Muhammad Soe'eb, whose nickname was Kalipa Apo. Hadji Muhammad Soe'eb kept the position of deputy (Islamic) judge of Bandoeng and passed away in 1922. Siti Sadijah and Snouck Hurgronje had one son together, Raden Joesoef born in 1905. Raden Joesoef in turn had five children. Siti Sadijah died in 1974.[425] In total Snouck Hurgronje became father of five children in the Dutch East Indies, and his offspring still lives in Indonesia.[426] These marriages gave Snouck Hurgronje direct access to the higher circles in West-Java. Sunda was the name of the former kingdom of West Java. Van Romburgh and his wife Wilhelmina Rademaker belonged to the inner core of Snouck's European acquaintances in the East Indies who knew about his two marriages and the circumstances about his 'indigenous' family.[427] After that Snouck Hurgronje had returned to the Netherlands in 1906 he received some letters from his four children from his first marriage with Sangkana. Snouck Hurgronje answered these letters to the eldest daughter Salmah Emrah. The letters that Snouck Hurgronje received from his children from Tjiamis are today held by Leiden University Library.[428]

H.H. Dingemans[429], mentions in his memoirs *Bij Allah's buren*, "a doctor from West Java who was married to a Sundanese granddaugther of "professor Snouck

[421] De Bruijn and G. Harinck (ed.), *Een Leidse Vriendschap.* p. 142.
[422] Van Koningsveld, 'Snouck Hurgronje: Moslim of niet?', p. 117.
[423] Ten Houte de Lange, *Familiefonds Hurgronje 1767-1992,* p. 328.
[424] Van Koningsveld, 'Snouck Hurgronje: Moslim of niet?', 1985, p. 118
[425] Ten Houte de Lange, *Familiefonds Hurgronje 1767-1992,* p. 328.
[426] Van Koningsveld, 'De geschiedschrijving van een koloniale expansieoorlog. Vijftig jaar na de dood van Snouck Hurgronje', in: *Snouck Hurgronje en de Islam,* p. 207
[427] However, Snouck Hurgronje stood for an ethnic policy, which meant that he had the opinion that the indigenous population was in state to prevail to the level of the modern and civilized standards of the Dutch through better education. But when it came to his own children in Dutch-India he thought it was enough with the indigenous school. Double standards. See: Van Koningsveld, 'Raden Joesoef in Bandung verbreekt het stilzwijgen rondom de islamitische huwelijken van zijn vader, Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje', in: *Snouck Hurgronje en de Islam*, p. 137.
[428]Van Koningsveld, 'Snouck Hurgronje: Moslim of niet?', 1985, p. 118.
[429] Official in the Dutch East-Indies (1931-1937), Comissioner (1939-1940) and Ambassador in Jeddah (1945-1950).

Hurgronje".[430] Van Koningsveld regarded these marriages of Snouck Hurgronje of great importance for the Dutch politics on Islam in the Indies and for his work as adviser, as these marriages provided him with relationships among higher circles of West-Java based on mutual trust.[431] Van Koningsveld was right in that these marriages gave him access to information. However, it is in my opinion to simplistic to argue that these marriages were purely a strategical tool as it ignores the fact that the East Indian society was multicultural and consisted of various social classes of which some of them stood behind the Dutch government against Islamic uprisings. Chapter two deals further with if Van Koningsveld's argumentation is tenable.

Already in 1889 Snouck Hurgronje was detached to study the people of Aceh. In a letter to Van der Chijs, dated April 5, 1889, written on board the ship Massilia on way to the East Indies Snouck Hurgronje mentioned his 'possible trip' to Aceh.[432] Both the Ministry of Colonies in The Hague and the Dutch government in Buitenzorg (today Bogor) obtained him permission to travel to the port of Penang, then part of the Straits Settlements and today of Malaysia, from where he as an unknown traveler wanted to cross the water to Aceh.[433] But Governor Van Teyl of Aceh was against his arrival and first in July 1891[434] after a commission by the Dutch government, Snouck Hurgronje left Java for Aceh. In March 1891 Snouck Hurgronje was appointed Adviser of Oriental languages and Muhammadan law. From July 16, 1891 until early February, 1892 Snouck Hurgronje stayed in Aceh, albeit inside the Dutch concentrated line. Three months later he presented his report on Aceh.[435]

His mission was to get a better understanding about the population of Aceh and find out more about the root causes of the resistance among the population of Aceh against the Dutch colonial domination. The Sultanate of Aceh was an independent Sultanate and therefore seen as a threat for other areas in Dutch East Indies to rise against their master. The Netherlands was also afraid of that Aceh would close it ties with England, its former ruler. England was the Dutch concurrent in the

[430] H.H. Dingemans, *Bij Allah's buren*, p. 234.
[431] Van Koningsveld, 'Snouck Hurgronje: Moslim of niet?', 1985, p. 120.
[432] Witkam, 'Introduction', in: Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, p.173.
[433] E. Weber, 'Snouck Hurgronje: De man van Atjeh', in: *Nederlandse Historiën*, vol. 23, no 4, 1989, p. 145.
[434] Source 1: Naarding says February 1891, p. 12. Source 2: Steenbrink says July 1891, p. 86. Source 3: Moereels, *Chr. Snouck Hurgronje (8-2-1857–26-6-1936)*, p. 31, says July 1891. Source 4: Drewes, 'Snouck Hurgronje, Christiaan (1857-1936)', p. 524 says July 1891.
[435] Drewes, 'Snouck Hurgronje, Christiaan (1857-1936)', p. 524.

field of trade and oil and the economic importance of Aceh emerged in these years.[436] In 1871, the Netherlands and England had signed an agreement where remnants of Dutch possessions in West Africa such as Ghana were exchanged for British interest on Sumatra. The result of this agreement was that in theory the whole Indian Archipelago came to belong to the Netherlands.[437] The war between Aceh and the Netherlands waged since 1873 and this war became the greatest and costliest conflict for the Dutch in the Indies.[438]

The outcome of Snouck Hurgronje's research was the 'secret report': *Report on the religious-political conditions in Aceh* (*Verslag omtrent de religious-politieke toestanden in Atjeh)*. The contents of this report gave a new guideline of how the Netherlands should operate towards Aceh.[439] Two chapters of this report were worked up to the two-volume work *De Atjèhers* [440], which was published in 1893 respectively in 1895. In 1906, an English translation of the *De Atjèhers* was published.[441] In the first volume, published in 1893, L.W.C. van den Berg was again the subject of a fierce attack by Snouck Hurgronje. Van den Berg even tried to summon Snouck Hurgronje because of this attack, but this was not possible, as *Atjeh* was not published in Snouck Hurgronje's own name but that of the Dutch government. The political conclusions of the 'secret report' were first published in 1957.[442] *Atjeh* is filled with descriptions of family relations, games, learning and science, traditions and religion in Aceh. In 1895 a special annex of photographs of *De Atjèhers* was published. In the introduction of this annex Snouck Hurgronje wrote that he initially planned to photograph as many people as possible during his stay in Aceh but various circumstances prevented this plan (he does not mention the circumstances). Instead he was lucky to receive some images of a Chinese Photographer from Kutaraja (Banda Aceh) and some others with the help of Resident K.F.H. Langen.[443] Snouck Hurgronje noted that relatively few of the East Indies, also among the upper class, could either read or write. An important observation in order to understand the

[436] P. Van 't Veer, *De Atjeh-oorlog*, Amsterdam: De Arbeiderspers, 1980, p. 30.
[437] Weber,'Snouck Hurgronje: De man van Atjeh', p. 143.
[438] Siegel, *The rope of God*, 1969, p. 9.
[439] Naarding, *Het conflict Snouck Hurgronje-Van Heutsz-Van Daalen. Een onderzoek naar de verantwoordelijkheid*, Utrecht: Oosthoek, 1938, p. 12.
[440] Snouck Hurgronje, *De Atjèhers*, Batavia and Leiden, 2 volumes, 1893/1895.
[441] Snouck Hurgronje, *The Achehnese*, transl. from Dutch by A.W.S. O'Sullivan and with an index by H.J. Wilkinson. With illustrations and maps, 2 volumes, Leiden, (1893-1894), 1906.
[442] Steenbrink, 'Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (1857-1936) en Atjeh', in: *Atjeh: de verbeelding van een koloniale oorlog*, Liesbeth Dolk (ed.), Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 2001, p. 86.
[443] Snouck Hurgronje, *De Atjeher*, vol. II, 12 images, 1895.

development of Islam in the East Indies as it meant that the spread of Islam must have been largely oral.[444]

The content of Snouck Hurgronje's policy was that the Netherlands should change its strategy from a rigid line of defense to a more active and aggressive guerilla one. Snouck Hurgronje wanted Van Heutsz (1851-1924) to take the command.[445] The strategy that Snouck Hurgronje set out in his advice was on one hand to be tough against the *ulama* and their 'supporters" and on the other hand to achieve a mutual agreement with the heads and confidence of the rest of the population and so recover the power of the Dutch authorities.[446] Snouck Hurgronje proposed that negotiations with the Sultan's family was ended and instead he wanted to restore the role of the *uleebelang,* the local secular head of districts, and that they gave full loyality to the Dutch East Indian government.[447]

His strategy was initially not well received and would be costly; an argument that was import for the Governor-General. Within the Dutch concentrated line the Dutch had made use of allies among the population, but in 1896 one of the most important allies of the Dutch, Teuku Umar who had been on the Dutch side since 1893, deserted along with his soldiers back to the Acehnese side. The fact of the traitors and a new Governor-General (C.H.A. van der Wijck), who stood more postitive to Snouck Hurgronje's advice, made that the Dutch changed their course in accordance to his advice.[448] Snouck Hurgronje insisted on that this new task was assigned to Colonel J.B. Van Heutsz. In 1898 Snouck Hurgronje's advice was fully in force. Snouck Hurgronje took part in numerous operations led by Van Heutsz. During all his years in the East Indies, Snouck Hurgronje was stationed Batavia, howevere a large proportion of the years 1898-1901 he spent in Aceh. However, in 1903 there was a serious conflict between Snouck Hurgronje and Van Heutsz on implementation of policy, so seriously that Snouck Hurgronje requested to be relieved from his mission in Aceh. His request was granted but nothing was done with his complaints about the hardness of the implementation.[449]

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[444] Snouck Hurgronje, *The Achehnese*, vol. II, p. 3.
[445] Joannes Benedictus van Heutsz, dutch officer, governor-general Dutch East Indies, 1904-1909
[446] Staal, ''Moeder vindt beter dat ik geen Sanskriet doe' Drie oriëntalisten', in: *Erflaters van de twintigste eeuw*, Amsterdam: Querido, 1991, p. 118.
[447] G.P. Means, *Political Islam in Southeast Asia*, 2009, p. 41.
[448] Drewes, 'Snouck Hurgronje, Christiaan (1857-1936), p. 524.
[449] Moereels, *Chr. Snouck Hurgronje (8-2-1857–26-6-1936)*, p. 40.

Because of Van Heutsz's military achievements in Aceh he was for a long time regarded as a Dutch national hero. In the early post-colonial years, when the number of deaths in Aceh caused by the Dutch military became public, Van Heutsz's status changed from hero to symbol of Dutch colonial government. Snouck Hurgronje's crucial contribution to the Dutch strategy was overshadowed for a long time.[450] Snouck Hurgronje hoped that with his strategy the war could be pushed to a rapid conclusion. He also recommended that as soon as the conflict was ended, all energie should be converted to reestablishment and reintegration of life in Aceh.[451] Karel Steenbrink[452] pointed out the contradictions in Snouck Hurgronje's opinion. On one hand Snouck Hurgronje had an ideal of an emancipated and developed Indonesian people, but one the other hand he thought that this ideal in some parts of the archipel only could be achieved by suppression of uprising as in Aceh.[453] The Dutch government did not follow Snouck Hurgronje's advice but instead the policy became harder and more brutal. The relationship between Snouck Hurgronje and Van Heutsz was already since the late 1890s bad as the two men didn't agree on how to implement Snouck Hurgronje's recommendations.[454]

The cause of the conflict in Aceh were said by Snouck Hurgronje to be rooted in the then prevailing social and political conflict between the *ulama,* the local secular head of districts (the *uleebelang)* and the central authority of the Sultan. Snouck Hurgronje noted that though the *uleebelang* in theory were officers of the sultanate, in practice they were independent. Under this assumption, Snouck Hurgronje suggested that the Dutch should take control of the *uleebelang* and support those of them who pledged loyalty to the Dutch authorities. The *ulama* had taken the leadership of the war and Snouck Hurgronje proposed to suppress them with force and limit their activities to merely 'religious' matters. Snouck Hurgronje thought that religion and politics should be separated. To put it briefly, Snouck Hurgronje's advice meant supporting the *uleebelang* and limits the power of the *ulama* to concern only religious

[450] Benda, 'Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje and the Foundations of Dutch Islamic Policy in Indonesia', p. 340.
[451] R. Van Niel, 'Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje: In Memory of the Centennial of his Birth', in: *The Journal of Asian Studies*, vol. 16, no 4, August, 1957, p. 593.
[452] Professor of intercultural Theology at the University of Utrecht, published both on Christianity and Islam, especially in Indonesia.
[453]Steenbrink, 'Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (1857-1936) en Atjeh', in: *Atjeh: de verbeelding van een koloniale oorlog*, Liesbeth Dolk (ed.), Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 2001, p. 77.
[454] See: Naarding, J.W. *Het conflict Snouck Hurgronje-Van Heutsz-Van Daalen. Een onderzoek naar de verantwoordelijkheid*, Utrecht: Oosthoek, 1938.

matters.[455] Snouck Hurgronje considered the conflict between the *uleebelang* and the *ulama* to be one between Islamic law (*fiqh/hukum*) and indigenous custom law (*adat*). Based on his opinion some generations of policy stressed the importance of the postition of the *ulama* against that of the *uleebelang*.[456]

Snouck Hurgronje was later criticized for that he did not take concern of the villagers, as a distinction between *adat* and Islam implied that the peasants and their 'masters' were connected both politically and culturally through *adat* and disrupted by Islam. But in fact the connection between the lords and their peasants was weak as the former achieved their revenues in particular from their control of the market. Trade was therefore more important than taxes.[457] Snouck Hurgronje has further been criticized for that he neglected the economic relations in *Atjeh* and therefore gave an incomplete picture of the war in Aceh.[458] James T. Siegel, an American professor emeritus in anthropology, made important revisions in the 1960's of Snouck Hurgronje's ideas about the composition of the society in Aceh.[459] Siegel claimed that the society of Aceh was not divided between customary and Islamic elements but of four groups consisting of *uleebelang*, *ulama*, peasants, and the sultan and his men, from which each had its own view of the nature of Islam and *adat*. Furthermore Siegel noted that it was especially the *ulama* who had connections to the village, in contradiction to the other three groups, they were not born into their position but gained their position after they had gone to a religious school.[460]

Snouck Hurgronje countered Dutch fears concerning Islam at both the international and the local level by clarifying that the absence of a clerical establishment in Islam made *ulama* in the East Indies no more members of a religious hierarchy than that they were the executors of comands from the Caliph of Constantinople. But the Caliph was not vested with ecclesiastic powers of dictation in matters of dogma, but an almost powerless symbol of the nonexisting unity of all Muslims.[461] Snouck Hurgronje noted that the vast majority of Muslims in the East

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[455] Siegel, *The rope of God*, p. 9.
[456] Steenbrink, 'Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (1857-1936) en Atjeh', in: *Atjeh: de verbeelding van een koloniale oorlog*, Liesbeth Dolk (ed.), Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 2001, p. 88.
[457] Siegel, *The rope of God*, p. 10.
[458] Steenbrink, 'Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (1857-1936) en Atjeh', p. 88.
[459] W. R. Roff, 'Islam Obscured? Some Reflections on Studies of Islam and Society in Southeast Asia', 1985, p. 10.
[460] Roff, 'Islam Obscured? p. 11.
[461] Benda, 'Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje and the Foundations of Dutch Islamic Policy in Indonesia', p. 340

Indies were not neccessarily fanatics or true enemies of the infidel rule of the Dutch.

In *The Achehnese*, he concluded that "the customary law and the "Excellent Qanun (mundane code) of the Turks differ from the written and the unwritten *adat* law of our Indonesians, but that they were equally far removed from the *sharia*".[462] Snouck Hurgronje observed a lack of fit between ideal and social reality in Islamic societies.[463] Snouck Hurgronje recognized that all social actuality had special historical roots.[464] Snouck Hurgronje knew very well that there is no standard orthodoxy in Islam, but that it consists of differences in both interpretation and place. He added that practical teaching of Islam differs throughout the whole Muslim world, and is to a certain degree dependent on the ethnological charachteristics and political and social development of all the different people who profess Islam on that specific spot. Snouck Hurgronje also thought that it is not our (read: the Dutch) business to determine whether a given population is Muslim or not.[465]

Previously, Islam was by the Dutch mainly considered as essentially a doctrine of duties (plichtenleer), which meant that "local custom was thought to be culturally prior, pre-eminent, and *sui juris,* was regarded as embodying codifiable rules for the regulation of social behavior."[466] It was Snouck Hurgronje who gave *adat* its intellectual character as he was the first to propose a distinction between "mere custom and custom that has legal consequences".[467] Cornelis van Vollenhoven (1874-1933), a Dutch law professor and legal scholar later developed these ideas of the legal systems (*adatrecht*) of the East Indies.[468] Van Vollenhoven became Professor of Adat law of the Dutch East Indies at Leiden University in 1901. Unlike Snouck Hurgronje Van Vollenhoven wrote all of his work in Leiden and remarkably he only visited the East Indies twice, first in 1907 and again in 1923. Snouck Hurgronje's first distinction of the *adat* later gave way for scholarly work with an understanding of the many facets of local particularities. Van Vollenhoven divided the Indies into nineteen separate law circles (*rechtskringen*) whose borders were drawn in such a way that when viewed from the standpoint of *adat* these groups were

[462] Snouck Hurgronje, *The Acehnese*, vol. II, p. 280.
[463] Snouck Hurgronje, p. 272.
[464] Roff, 'Islam Obscured? p. 9.
[465] Snouck Hurgronje, *The Acehnese*, vol. II, p. 277.
[466] Roff, 'Islam Obscured? p. 13.
[467] Snouck Hurgronje, *De Atjeher*, vol. I, 1893, p. 357. See also: B. Ter Haar, *Adat law in Indonesia*, New York: International Secretariat Institute of Pacific relations, p. 5.
[468] See: C. Van Vollenhoven, *De ontdekking van het adatrecht*, Leiden: Brill, 1928.

thought to be ethnographically and culturally homogeneous.[469] The Dutch development of the legal system resulted partially from the view of jurisprudence that considers law as the natural outgrowth of natural community wherein alien accretions should be avoided and emphasized upon codifying local particularism in customary law. That is why the Dutch authorities favored the incumbent traditional authority structures in the Indies.[470]

In *The Achehnese* Snouck Hurgronje expressed his irritation about all the misconceptions on Islam that was spread in the Indies, often by newpapers and magazines of Dutch Indies. He clarified that the people who spread this misinformation didn't even have a distant knowledge of the conditions of the questions concerned or bothered to get at the truth. According to Snouck Hurgronje there were on one hand Europeans in the Indies who believed that there lurked a fanatical and/or would-be rebel under every turban, and on the other hand there were people who believed that there was no single grain of fanaticism to be found in the East Indies at all. Many people also had an opinion that was purely based on their own experience with the indigenous people, but lacked further argumentation or whatever.[471] Snouck Hurgronje was convinced of that only a distinctive analysis could give a correct picture of Muslims in the Indies. Snouck Hurgronje clarified that in order to get to know the significance of Islam as it occured in the lives and thoughts of the indigenous population, one must take both the demands that it makes in practice, as well as in theory upon those who profess it into account.[472] In *The Achehnese,* Snouck Hurgronje further dealt with the contrast between the doctrine and actual life of Muslims. He concluded that most Muslims fall very short in both their knowledge and in their observance of the rules and principles.[473] Snouck Hurgronje gave examples of this discrepancy and discussed why some principles of Islam were more obeyed than others. Some examples of principles he gave were those of *zakat* and *circumcision*.[474]

Snouck Hurgronje saw national and political association as the core of this Dutch state, arguing that indigenous East Indies should form part to a greater extent of

[469] Roff, 'Islam Obscured? p. 13.
[470] Roff, p. 14.
[471] Snouck Hurgronje, *The Acehnese*, vol. II, p. 270.
[472] Snouck Hurgronje, p. 272.
[473] Snouck Hurgronje, p. 272.
[474] Snouck Hurgronje, p. 273

the administration.[475] A paternalistic view in the best interest of its protected subjects: the indigenous Indies. This view by Snouck Hurgronje should not be confused with an urge to Christian convertion. Snouck Hurgronje thought that the state should not contribute to the efforts of converting the Islamic population of the East Indies to Christianity. In 1846 the first Dutch missionary magazine[476] for the East Indies was published. Between 1846 and1918 a professionalization of the missionary work in the Indies took place. Some examples of this professionalization were an increased specialization to target groups and the emergence of a Christian press in the Indies.[477] If Christian missionaries still made efforts to do so it was their own business according to Snouck Hurgronje and he didn't believe that these missionaries would be successful anyway.[478]

Snouck Hurgronje also gave political advices on other parts of the East Indies such as: Jambi (Sumatra), Korintji (Sumatra), Banjarmasin (Borneo), Riau-Lingga Sultanate (Riau Islands), Boni (now Bone; South Sulawesi). Only on Jambi did Snouck Hurgronje base his advice on repeated site visits and research. Snouck Hurgronje continued to follow developments in Jambi and in 1916, after return to Leiden, he adviced the Ministry of Colonies on Jambi again.[479]

The possession of the colony East Indies was at the same time reason for a political guilt and scientific pride. The answer to the merger of these two was an emancipatory mission with education as a means. This was part of Snouck Hurgronje's associationist policy in the domains of education and government. As the population of the Netherlands could be divided into more and less developed individuals, so also could the indigenous population of the East Indies. Snouck Hurgronje believed that it was the task of the higher classes of the indigenous society in the East Indies to take the leadership of the people. Snouck Hurgronje wanted to give these people – those who were developed and had adopted modernity and the corresponding values- a European education.[480] In his house in Batavia/Weltevreden in West Java, Snouck Hurgronje gave the good example and took some male students

[475] Snouck Hurgronje, *Nederland en de Islam*, p. 85.
[476] 'Magazine to promote Christian liking in the Dutch East Indies'('Tijdschrift ter bevordering van Christelijke zin in Neerland's Indië'), published by baron W.R. van Hoëvell.
[477] Jan A.B. Jongeneel, *Protestanste zendingsperiodieken uit de egentiende en twintigste eeuw in Nederland, Nederlands-Indië, Suriname en de Nederlandse Antillen; een bibliografische catalogus met inleiding*, Utrecht/Leiden: Interuniversitair instituut voor missiologie en oecumenica, 1990, p. 7.
[478] Snouck Hurgronje, *Nederland en de Islam*, p. 86.
[479] Drewes, 'Snouck Hurgronje, Christiaan (1857-1936)', p. 524.
[480] Snouck Hurgronje, 'Blikken in het zieleleven van den Javaan?', in: De Gids, no 9, 1908, p. 24.

under his care.[481] The students were indeed mainly from noble families. One of these students remained even after his return to the Netherlands under his care. This student, Hoesein Djajadiningrat, was the first Indonesian who obtained a doctoral degree in the Netherlands and did so in 1913 at Leiden University.[482]

In 1900, Snouck Hurgronje published his linguistic research in Aceh entitled *Atjèhsche Taalstudiën.* This study was of significant contribution to modern phonology.[483] His next major work: *Het Gajoland en zijne bewoners* was published in 1903 and issued by the Dutch government. This work consisted of oral stories of the inhabitants of the southern coastline of Sumatra.[484] On June 1, 1904 Snouck Hurgronje wrote to Bavinck that he intended to take a one-year leave in the second half of 1905 or the first of 1906.[485] Snouck Hurgronje could sail with a Dutch warship and left for the Netherlands. On the way to the Netherlands he again sailed along the coast of Jeddah and again he did not go ashore.[486]

Almost immediately after the return Snouck Hurgronje succeeded De Goeje as he was appointed the Arabic chair of Leiden University in 1906. This was not the first chair that was offered him. Earlier in his career both Delft and Cairo had showed their interest as well as Cambridge University.[487] Snouck Hurgronje's leave thus became permanent and he settled down at Witte Singel in Leiden. The Arabist G.A.J Hazeu (1870-1929) succeeded Snouck Hurgronje as government advisor in the Dutch East Indies. Hazeu held this post, with some interruptions, from 1906 until 1920. After 1906 Snouck Hurgronje never returned to the East Indies.[488] None of Snouck Hurgronje's family in the East Indies would ever see him again. Snouck Hurgronje forbade them to come to the Netherlands and to use his last name.[489] Snouck Hurgronje married Ida Maria Oort on 8 July 1910 in Zutphen.[490] Ida Oort worked as German teacher at the secondary school for girls in Leiden (meisjes Hogere

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[481] Schröder, 'Oriëntalistische retoriek: Van Koningsveld over de vuile handen van Snouck Hurgronje', in: Witkam (e.a.), De Arabische wereld. De geschiedenis en betekenis van de Islam/Arabische taal, poëzie en politieke herrijzenis/Nederlands koloniaal verleden, De Gids no 9/10, 1980, p. 796.
[482] K. Steenbrink, 'Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (1857-1936) en Atjeh', in: *Atjeh: de verbeelding van een koloniale oorlog*, Liesbeth Dolk (ed.), Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 2001, p. 91.
[483] J. Schacht, 'Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje', in: *Islam*, 24, 1937, p. 193.
[484] Moereels, *Chr. Snouck Hurgronje (8-2-1857–26-6-1936)*, p. 41.
[485] De Bruijn and G. Harinck (ed.), *Een Leidse Vriendschap.* p. 156.
[486] This is confirmed by prof. J.J. Witkam. Conversation conducted with J.J. Witkam on November 10, 2009.
[487] Moereels, *Chr. Snouck Hurgronje (8-2-1857–26-6-1936)*, p. 42.
[488] Pijper, *Studiën over de geschiedenis van de Islam in Indonesia, 1900-1950*, p. 8.
[489] Van Koningsveld, 'Snouck Hurgronje: Moslim of niet?', p. 121.
[490] Ten Houte de Lange, *Familiefonds Hurgronje 1767-1992,* p. 328.

burgerschool)[491]. They had one child together, Christien Snouck Hurgronje (today Liefrinck-Snouck Hurgronje), born on December 17, 1914 in Leiden.[492] In 1920 the family Snouck Hurgronje moved to a pompous house on Rapenburg 61 in Leiden. Snouck Hurgronje bought Rapenburg 61 from prof. Heeres, who was professor in the history of the East Indies.[493]

3.2 Back in Leiden

In 1906 Snouck Hurgronje had entrusted minister of colonies Fock[494] that he would only accept the chair in Leiden if he could be an adviser for indigenous Dutch East Indies and Arabic affairs at his ministry. Snouck Hurgronje also mentioned this in his inaugural speech.[495] The minister accepted the proposition and Snouck Hurgronje held the post from 1907 until his death in 1936. Snouck Hurgronje was known to express himself in polemic tough terms and often kept a different opinion than the prevailing views within the department.[496] From 1906 he also held the position of professor of Arabic at Leiden University as he succeeded De Goeje. In his inaugural lecture in 1907 Snouck Hurgronje discussed among others the history of Islam in East Indies.[497] He concluded that Islam in the East Indies rose by Indian Muslims who brought Islam first to Aceh and later to Java.[498]

Snouck Hurgronje felt his advice on the policy of the Ministry of Colonies were too often neglected an in 1915 minister Pleijte[499] pointed to the fact that though the recognition of Snouck Hurgronje's authority in the field of Islam was undisputed inside the ministry of colonies, it was not meant that the ministry made policy a subject to his opinion.[500] In 1916 minister Pleijte told Van Limburg Stirum[501],

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[491] Hogere burgerschool or HBS was a secondary schooltype in the Netherlands between 1863 and 1974. (C.C.)
[492] Ten Houte de Lange, *Familiefonds Hurgronje 1767-1992,* p. 329.
[493] A. Versprille, 'Huisvesting', in: *Gedenkboek bij het 200-jarig bestaan van de Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde te Leiden*, 1966, p. 126.
[494] Dirck Fock, (1858-1941), liberal politician, minister of colonies, 1905-1908, governor of Surinam 1908-1911, governor-general of Dutch East-India 1921-1926. See: www.inghist.nl
[495] Snouck Hurgronje, *Arabië en Oost-Indië,* inaugural address of Snouck Hurgronje at Leiden University, Leiden: Brill, 1907, p. 26.
[496] B.G.J. De Graaff, *'Kalm temidden van woedende golven', Het ministerie van Koloniën en zijn taakomgeving, 1912-1940,* p. 147.
[497] Snouck Hurgronje, *Arabië en Oost-Indië*, 23 January 1907 Leiden University, Leiden: Brill, 1907.
[498]Moereels, *Chr. Snouck Hurgronje (8-2-1857–26-6-1936)*, p. 42.
[499] Pleijte (Pleyte), Thomas Bastiaan (1864-1926), 1913-1918 hew was minister of colonies. See: www.inghist.nl
[500] De Graaff, *'Kalm temidden van woedende golven',* p. 147.

minister of foreign affairs, that Snouck Hurgronje should be dismissed and that he was "out of the time".[502]

The Ministry of Colonies was especially a managing and controlling ministry. In 1910 it was in size, in terms of personnel, the largest ministry of the Dutch government,[503] but given the huge area[504] of that this chief administrative extended, the size may seem wondrous. Aceh was a strategic location in the Malay Archipelago. Before the steamboat replaced sailing ships many *hajjis* had to pass Aceh before they went to Jeddah. When the sailing ships were overtaken by steamboats during the 19th century *hajjis* instead travelled with English or Dutch steamers from the harbors of Batavia, Padang and Singapore.[505] The arrival of steamboots reduced the travel time of approximately five months to forty days.[506]

Sufi brotherhoods played a major role in spreading Islam in the East Indies and served as a channel for the dissemination of spiritual knowledge. Brotherhoods therefore often worked as a bridge between local forms of Islam. Snouck Hurgronje had a thorough knowledge and understood the importance of the Sufis and the syncretistic charachter of Islam in the East Indies.[507] Snouck Hurgronje described the path of *Shattariya* in *the Achehenese* (1906). Snouck Hurgronje gathered a large collection of *Rateb*[508] texts that today belongs to Leiden University. Rateb is one of the most illustrious features of the local form of mystical Islam on Sumatra. Still today there exists ritual texts like this on Sumatra but with modern religious life many of them disappeared. Therefore the collection that Snouck Hurgronje brought to Leiden can be considered unique.[509]

But Snouck Hurgronje definitely had reservations around what he described as pan-Islamic disruptions. In *Nederland en de Islam* from 1911 Snouck Hurgronje

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[501] Johan Paul Van Limburg Stirum, count (1873-1948), see: www.inghist.nl
[502] De Graaff, *'Kalm temidden van woedende golven'*, p. 148.
[503] De Graaff, p. 148.
[504] In 1910 it extended the Dutch East Indies, the Netherlands Antilles and Suriname. See: De Graaff, *'Kalm temidden van woedende golven'*, p. 40.
[505] Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, transl. by Witkam, 2007, p. 473.
[506] Van Krieken, *Snouck Hurgronje en het Panislamisme, lezing gehouden voor het Oosters Genootschap in Nederland op 12 Maart 1984 (lecture given at the Netherlands Oriental Society* on March 12, 1984), p. 14.
[507] Katkova, 'Sufi Manuscripts from Aceh and Minangkabu', 2008, p. 10.
[508] *Rateb* is an Arabic term meaning the exact regulation of behavior, in many cases the obligatory religious chants performed by the members of a Sufi brotherhood as a devotional exercise.
[509] Katkova, p. 10.

clearly argues on this view.[510] Snouck Hurgronje disliked religious-political activities of all kind.[511] Around 1914, the 'threat' of pan-Islam disappeared in messages that the Dutch envoy in Istanbul sent to the Ministry of foreign affairs in The Hague. However, this message did not reassure Snouck Hurgronje, who at that time was an expert at the Ministry of Colonies, who continued to see it as a threat against the Dutch authorities in Dutch East Indies.[512]

Snouck Hurgronje characterized the pan-Islamic idea as a mediaeval idealistic leftover. Still, it was precisely this idealistic notion that, according to him, may cause disturbance especially between the Muslim and the non-Muslim world. Pan-Islam was according to Snouck Hurgronje not a political reality. What Snouck Hurgronje actually meant by the term pan-Islam would today be called Islamic fundamentalism. The idea of *Jihad* as in the sense of holy war against infidels was his main concern.[513] Snouck Hurgronje believed that even if there in the last centuries hadn't been any serious claims by a caliphate, it remained a religious doctrine that survives through scripture and therefore he believed the notion of pan-Islam should be considered a threat.[514] So even if he considered the pan-islamic idea of a caliphate as a relic from the Middle Ages and not realistic, he did believe that the idea of a caliphate could cause a clash between the Muslim and the non-Muslim world. However, Snouck Hurgronje wrote that the main part of the canonical tradition about Muhammad was fictitious and created after his death by his followers. Snouck Hurgronje added that nowhere in the Qur'an there is trace of that after Muhammad's death someone else would take over the function of interpreter of Allah's word.[515]

According to this thinking the threat of Muslim fanaticism was especially true for a country like the Netherlands with its great Muslim colony the East Indies. Snouck Hurgronje believed that the only way to oppose pan-Islamic tendencies would be through education and elevation. It was primarily an elevation of the East Indies indigenous elite that he had in mind.[516] Snouck Hurgronje was convinced of the

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[510] Snouck Hurgronje, Nederland en Islam: vier voordrachten, gehouden in de Nederlandsch-Indische bestuursacademie, Leiden: Brill, 1911.
[511] Drewes, 'Snouck Hurgronje, Christiaan (1857-1936)', p. 525.
[512] P. Van Vugt, 'De Nederlandse reactie op de panislamitische politiek van Turkije 1876-1922', in: Alexander H. De Groot (ed.), *Het Midden-Oosten en Nederland in historisch perspectief, 1989,* p. 129.
[513] Otterspeer, *Utopieën van een onvermoeibaar mens*, p. 142.
[514] Snouck Hurgronje, 'Jong-Turkije. Herinneringen uit Stambol, 25 juli – 23 september 1908', in: *De Gids*, December 2006, p. 980.
[515] Snouck Hurgronje, 'The Caliphate', in: *Verspreide Geschriften*, vol. VI, 1927, p. 437.
[516] Otterspeer, *Utopieën van een onvermoeibaar mens*,, p. 143.

advantages of Western education. Snouck Hurgronje believed that the Netherlands had come further in the process of civilization and he attributed to the indigenous of the East Indies the same potential. Snouck Hurgronje had a universalistic belief, everywhere for everyone and he had a strong confidence in capabilities of the human ratio. His aim was also to improve the corps of colonial administrators. Furthermore Snouck Hurgronje believed that Islam and Christianity in practice of national life could work very well together. Once Dutch East Indies had become fully modern and civilized the attractiveness of the pan-Islamic idea would, according to Snouck Hurgronje wane.[517] Snouck Hurgronje thought that modernization of Islamic law or popularisation of Islamic mysticism could cause the adequate reform that according to him Islamic societies needed.[518]

In Leiden, Snouck Hurgronje found a platform for his thoughts about 'Islam politics' based on neutrality towards Islam and opposition towards religiously inspired political activities of all kinds. In short, for the Dutch East Indies it meant that Snouck Hurgronje had nothing against one being a Muslim, as long as they did not organize themselves politically on the basis of Islam. Snouck Hurgronje was against a codification of the Islamic law by the Dutch colonial power because he thought that it could lead to a freezing of an, in his eyes, flexible system. Snouck Hurgronje considered that the colonial government should be neutral towards Islam as a religion, but vigilant of Islam as a political power.[519] What he wanted was a modernization and secularization of society such had taken place in the West.[520] Religion was precluded from having anything to do with the affairs of state and had to be exclusively a 'spiritual' matter.[521] By Dutch standards Snouck Hurgronje was politically to be considered a liberal. The classical liberalism of 1848 was based on separation of Church and State and Snouck Hurgronje was an adherent of this idea and of the rational man. From the early twentieth century, the Dutch liberals lost influence in the Dutch politics in favor of the confessionals. Then confessional

[517] Snouck Hurgronje, 'Jong-Turkije. Herinneringen uit Stambol, 25 juli – 23 september 1908', p. 983.
[518] Snouck Hurgronje, *Nederland en de Islam*, reissued 2nd edition Leiden: Brill, 1915, p. 79.
[519] B.J. Boland, *The struggle of Islam in Modern Indonesia*, dissertation Leiden University, The Hague: Nijhoff, 1971, p. 14.
[520] Van der Veer, *Islam en het 'beschaafde' Westen. Essays over de 'achterlijkheid' van religies*, 2002, p. 192.
[521] Boland, *The struggle of Islam in Modern Indonesia*, dissertation, p. 14.

political organization formed a substantial part of politics in the Netherlands.[522] Apparently the indigenous in the East Indies still needed to be civilized.[523] Snouck Hurgronje wanted religious freedom in the East Indies but combat and prohibit statements of political Islam. As the Dutch constitution was not valid in the East Indies, a prohibition of statements in the name of political Islam was possible.[524] Snouck Hurgronje advocated for a 'neutral' state that acted as audit on the society. Snouck Hurgronje accepted the faith of Islam, but he had a preference of a certain kind of Islam and thought that the Islamic society should be secularized. Schröder observed that Snouck Hurgronje and Atatürk had the same purpose with their policy on Islam.[525]

Snouck Hurgronje said that there was hardly any question of 'modern' organization among the indigenous in the Dutch East Indies and this lack of modern organization existed because of the lack of common organization that stood up for common interests. According to him there were only 'individuals' and no mutual association among the indigenous in Dutch East Indies.[526] But we can't really say how spontaneous this disability to organize really was, given the ban on associations and meetings of political signature, initiated by the colonial administrators that existed since the 19th century. This ban was gradually, from 1903 and thereafter, lifted. This paved the way for the emergence of *Sarekat (Dagang) Islam,* the first modern nationalist mass-movement, which developed around 1911/1912.[527] It was a movement consisting of indigenous merchants. *Sarekat Islam* was inspired by the *Young Turks* and their achievements in 1908 -1909 in the Ottoman Empire.[528] The use of Turkish inspired clothes, flag and symbols suggests this inspiration. But the *Sarket* movement also looked to the Muslim population in India and Egypt, whom were seen as good examples of progress that they wanted to achieve through on the one hand

[522] P. De Rooy, 'Dat de evenaar noch naar links, noch naar rechts doorzwikke'. De confessionelen en de moderne natie, in: Uwe Becker (ed.), *Nederlandse politiek in historisch en vergelijkend perspectief*, 1993, p. 87.
[523] Van der Veer, *Islam en het 'beschaafde' Westen. Essays over de 'achterlijkheid' van religies*, p. 193.
[524] D. Vlasblom, 'De Hollandse moefti', in: *NRC Handelsblad*, 21-03-2009.
[525] Schröder, 'Oriëntalistische retoriek: Van Koningsveld over de vuile handen van Snouck Hurgronje', in: Witkam (e.a.), De Arabische wereld. De geschiedenis en betekenis van de Islam/Arabische taal, poëzie en politieke herrijzenis/Nederlands koloniaal verleden, De Gids no 9/10, 1980, p. 792.
[526] De Graaff, *'Kalm temidden van woedende golven',* p. 194.
[527] M. Van Bruinessen, 'Saints politicians and Sufi Bureaucrats: Mysticism and politics in Indonesia's New Order', in: M. Van Bruinessen and Julia Day Howell (ed.), *Sufism and 'the modern' in Islam*, London: I.B. Tauris, 2007, p. 96.
[528] De Graaff, *'Kalm temidden van woedende golven',* p. 201.

western knowledge and on the other hand through reformist Islam. The former ensured for the needed progress of technology in the society, the latter for the right ethos of the population.[529] Snouck Hurgronje did not foresee that it was in fact Islamic organisations, inspired by democratization and nationalism and not of a return to a middle age version of the caliphate, which had a leading role in the increased political participation of citizens in Islamic countries, an increased engagement that eventually also in the Dutch East Indies led to independence.

Snouck Hurgronje also looked at Constantinople (now Istanbul) and the turbulence that arose there. In 1908 he traveled to Constantinople and there he wrote a travel report that was published in *De Gids*.[530] In general there were a lot of misconceptions among western statesmen of the position of the Caliph in the Ottoman Empire. By equating the position of the caliph with that of the Pope western statesmen in fact granted the Caliph power and importance that he did not possess. There was a lack of knowledge about Islam among Dutch authorities and of any Islamic policy in the East Indies until Snouck Hurgronje reinforced it. Snouck Hurgronje notes that the knowledge of the history of Islam, across major ranks of Turks, seems also not very impressing, as he experienced in Constantinople in 1908. Many of those Turks that he met, believed in all seriousness that the sherifate of Mecca was a thoroughly religious institution and thus inseparable from Islam.[531]

In the turbulent times around the coup that was accomplished by the Young Turks, Snouck Hurgronje wondered what a new constitution would bring and what kind of position the Sultan would take against Islam and Muslims. What would happen to the old claim of the now Turkish sultan on the caliphate? In short, what impact would the 'revolution' have on pan-Islamism?[532] What we call pan-Islam may as well be called the rise of political Islam and be understood in the sense of opposition to Western colonial influence. In fact this kind of opposition was also pro-modernization, it wanted to match the west, but without Western rule. Hence Snouck Hurgronje, as well as what he called the 'pan-Islamists', were both in favour of equality to Western Society. What separated them was that Snouck Hurgronje

[529] A.P.E. Korver, *Sarekat Islam, 1912-1916. Opkomst, bloei en structuur van Indonesië's eerste massabeweging,* p. 68.
[530] Snouck Hurgronje, 'Jong-Turkije. Herinneringen uit Stambol, 25 Juli–23 September 1908', in: *De Gids*, no 1, 1909.
[531] Snouck Hurgronje, 'Islam and Turkish nationalism', in: *Foreign Affairs; an American Quarterly Review*, 3:1/4 (1924/25), p. 71.
[532] Snouck Hurgronje, 'Jong-Turkije. Herinneringen uit Stambol, 25 juli – 23 september 1908', p. 980.

believed that equality led to symbiosis and to one nation; especially in the case of the Netherlands and the Dutch East Indies and that the pan-Islamists believed that equality would lead to independence.[533] Snouck Hurgronje made a distinction between political and non-political Islam.[534] Furthermore, he did not consider Islam and its societies as 'one' integrated whole, but were all results of their own history. He was well aware of the absence of a standard orthodoxy of Islam.

At the outset Snouck Hurgronje considered the Young Turks as a model for the Islamic society. The Young Turks wanted a secular state and merely upheld Islam as a state religion. Snouck Hurgronje saw the Young Turks as an example of what he considered to be progressive elements in the Islamic society.[535] But his enthusiasm was definitely chilled in 1915. The reason was World War I and the Turkish support of the German Empire from November 1914. The Sultan/Caliph of the Ottoman Empire made a call to all Muslims in the world to join their side in de war, which meant that it was also addressed to all Indonesian Muslims. All Muslims who lived in a colony should no longer accept their suppressed situation and if they did they were impious according to the Ottoman Sultan/Caliph. Snouck Hurgronje reacted strongly and thought that only termination of all ties, inclusive the *hajj*, between the Ottoman Empire and the Dutch East Indies was a resolute solution.[536] The Dutch government thought that Snouck Hurgronje overreacted. At any event travel to Mecca was due to the conditions of war virtually impossible.[537]

3.3 Last years

In 1913 Snouck Hurgronje gave a couple of lectures in the United States on invitation of the *American Committe for Lectures on the History of Religions*. These lectures were published 1916 under the titel of *Mohammedanism. Lectures on its Origin, its Religious and Political Growth and its Present State*. The book *Mohammedanism* comprises four chapters of topics that were important to Snouck Hurgronje and the

[533] Van Vugt, 'De Nederlandse reactie op de panislamitische politiek van Turkije 1876-1922', p. 124.
[534] Snouck Hurgronje, 'Jong-Turkije. Herinneringen uit Stambol, 25 juli – 23 september 1908', in: *De Gids*, December 2006, p. 983.
[535] Schröder, 'Oriëntalistische retoriek: Van Koningsveld over de vuile handen van Snouck Hurgronje', 1980, p. 791. See also: Snouck Hurgronje, 'Jong-Turkije. Herinneringen uit Stambol, 25 Juli–23 September 1908', in: *De Gids*, no 1, 1909.
[536] Van Krieken, *Snouck Hurgronje en het Panislamisme*, 1984, p. 32.
[537] Van Krieken, p. 33.

book is telling about his position towards these issues. Snouck Hurgronje talked with a very sharp tongue and in his view religion must be the most conservative factor of human life. He also said that the 'treasuries' of Islam were full of rubbish and had become useless and needed a revision. Snouck Hurgronje believed that a high development of intellectual life could bring such change and that the Muslim world needed to be associated with modern thought. In Snouck Hurgronjes view, the Muslim subjects of the colonial powers, needed to be incorporated into the civilization of their masters.[538] In 1913 Snouck Hurgronje also visited Russia where he took part in the International Congress of Academies in Saint Petersburg (Petrograd at that moment). In 1937 I.J. Krachkovsky wrote a piece to the memory of Snouck Hurgronje. Krachkovsky mentioned his admiration for Snouck Hurgronje. Krachkovsky admired Snouck Hurgronje because he had stayed "loyal to true science"[539] at the beginning of the Russian Civil War and had supplied a German scholar who was interned in Russia during the war with scholarly literature. Snouck Hurgronje was elected correspondent-member of the *Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R.* in 1924.[540] Snouck Hurgronje was also honorary member of the *Arab Academy of Damascus*, about this membership he reported in a correspondence with the minister of the Ministry of colonial affairs in 1931.[541] Snouck Hurgronje was honored by the Order of the Netherlands Lion (Commandeur in de orde van de Nederlandse leeuw) and a Grand Cross in the Order of Orange-Nassau (Grootkruis in de orde van Oranje-Nassau).[542]

In 1922, Snouck Hurgronje was co-author of the *Evidence of Constitution for the Dutch East Indies* (*Proeve van eene Staatsregeling voor Nederlandsch-Indië*).[543] This proposal was not commissioned by the Dutch governement, but was written in response and as complement to former work that was written by a commission established by the Dutch governement on the subject of constitutional revision in the

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[538] Snouck Hurgronje, *Mohammedanism. Lectures on its Origin, its Religious and Political Growth and its Present State,* New York: Putnam's Sons, 1916. These chapters were: 'Some points concerning the origin of Islam', 'The Religious development of Islam', 'The Politicial development of Islam' and 'Islam and modern thought'.
[539] Krackovsky, 'To the memory Ch. Snouck Hurgronje; Honorary member of the Academy of Sciences in the USSR, in: *Bijdragen tot Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 122, no 3, 1966, p. 378. The source uses the spelling Krackovsky, however the correct spelling is Krachovsky.
[540] Krackovsky, p. 378.
[541] Gobée and C. Adriaanse (ed.), *Ambtelijke adviezen van C. Snouck Hurgronje 1889-1936,* part 2, p. 1596.
[542] Schröder, 'Abd al-Ghaffar – Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje', p. 2
[543] Oppenheim, C. Snouck Hurgronje, C. Van Vollenhoven (etc.), *Proeve van eene staatsregeling voor Nederlandsch-Indië*, Leiden: Brill, 1922.

Dutch Indies. The governmental commission had been established by decision of the Governor-General on December 17, 1918.[544]

The core of their (Snouck Hurgronje and co-authors) argument was that governance and legislation in the Dutch East Indies ought as much as possible to be trusted to the local authorities and institutional bodies and that the indigenous population should obtain a maximum influence and share in the composition of these bodies.[545] The authors had a distinct opinion about the future of the legal system in the Dutch East Indies than the current Dutch government. In their proposal there was no more room for *sharia* [546] and the authors considered the abolition of *sharia* in the Dutch East Indies as just a matter of time. The authors thought that only *adat* law and national law should be regarded as valid.[547] Snouck Hurgronje had previously published on the topic of *sharia* law. In 1890, in the *Report on the Mohammedan Religious Administration of Law* (*Rapport over de Mohammedaansche Godsdienstige Rechtspraak)* he treated the subject of *sharia* and what it embraces.[548]

Snouck Hurgronje's opinion was that the dual administrative system in the Dutch East Indies should be eliminated. In his view would Western education of the higher classes in the East Indies inevitable lead to such an elmination. In the interwar period there was among conservatives in Dutch politics much resistance against any reform of the dual administrative system in the Dutch East Indies.[549]

In 1923 Snouck Hurgronje published the article 'Vergeten Jubilé's' in *De Gids*.[550] Snouck Hurgronje wrote in this article that the East Indies, already a couple of years before his arrival there in 1889, was of central interest to him.[551] In this article Snouck Hurgronje furthermore criticized the lawlessness of the Dutch colonial administration in the Dutch East Indies. According to Snouck Hurgronje the whole

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[544] Oppenheim, C. Snouck Hurgronje, C. Van Vollenhoven (etc.), *Proeve van eene staatsregeling voor Nederlandsch-Indië*, p. VII.
[545] Oppenheim, C. Snouck Hurgronje, C. Van Vollenhoven (etc.), p. 1.
[546] The authors translated *sharia* as "Mohammedaansche godsdienstige rechtspraak". In the official Dutch nomenclature, until the end of the colonial regime the term priest's council (*priesterraad*) was used to designate religious judicial tribunals. See: J.J. Van de Velde, *De gosdienstige rechtspraak in Nederlandsch-Indië, staatsrechtelijk beschouwd*, 1928, p. 1.
[547] Oppenheim, C. Snouck Hurgronje, C. Van Vollenhoven (etc.), *Proeve van eene staatsregeling voor Nederlandsch-Indië*, Leiden: Brill, 1922.
[548] Van de Velde, *De gosdienstige rechtspraak in Nederlandsch-Indië, staatsrechtelijk beschouwd*, 1928, p. 1.
[549] Drewes, 'Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (1857-1936)', p. 525.
[550] Snouck Hurgronje, 'Vergeten Jubilé's', in: *De Gids*, 1923.
[551] Snouck Hurgronje, 'Vergeten Jubilé's', in: Fasseur (ed.), *Geld en geweten. Een bundel opstellen over anderhalve eeuw Nederlands bestuur in de Indonesiche archipel*, II, The Hague, 1980, p.72.

Dutch regime in the Indies was characterized by misunderstandings between the European officials and the indigenous population. Even those of the Europeans who had good intentions in the colony lacked enough knowledge of the society they controlled in order to be able take any wise or fair decisions.[552] In a sarcastic way Snouck Hurgronje also reminded the reader about how indignant they were about injustice caused by other nations than their own and he advocated for that they instead turned their indignation to the East Indies. Snouck Hurgronje wrote that "yes, we are for this jointly responsible."[553]

On October 14, 1926 Prince Faisal ibn Abd al-Aziz Al Saud (1904-1975)[554], son of the Wahhabi King Abd Al-Aziz [Ibn Saud] (1880-1953)[555] visited the Dutch Queen Wilhelmina in the Netherlands. In 1926 Ibn Saud had taken possession over Hejaz and had proclaimed the unity of the Kingdom (central Arabia; Nejd region and the Hejaz).[556] During his stay in Europe Prince Faisal also visited England and France.[557] It is said that the visit of the prince took place out of gratitude from Ibn Saud to the Netherlands for their support of the conquest of *Hejaz* in 1925. The Dutch support was partly established on the advice of Snouck Hurgronje.[558] The Netherlands was among the first countries to recognize the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Previously the recognition by the Netherlands, Ibn Saud had already approved the establishment of a vice-consulate and a hospital by the Netherlands in Mecca. It was Snouck Hurgronje who obtained for an establishment of doctors who could assist the *hajjis* from the East Indies with treatment and medicines. In 1926, The Netherlands Trading Society, one of the primary ancestors of the bank ABN-AMRO was allowed to open a bank office in Jeddah. The Saudi Hollandi Bank was the first operating bank in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.[559]

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[552] Snouck Hurgronje, 'Vergeten Jubilé's', in: Fasseur (ed.), *Geld en geweten. Een bundel opstellen over anderhalve eeuw Nederlands bestuur in de Indonesiche archipel*, II, The Hague, 1980, p. 70.
[553]Snouck Hurgronje, p. 75-77.
[554] Prince Faisal ibn Abd al-Aziz Al Saud was King of Saudi Arabia between 1964 and 1975.
[555] Between 1901 and 1926 he took control over various areas in Central Arabia and acted Emir and Sultan. Between 1932 and 1953 he was King of Saudi Arabia. To emphasize his secular authority Sultan was replaced by King.
[556] A. Vassiliev, *The History of Saudi Arabia*, London: Saqi Books, 1998, p. 266.
[557] Snouck Hurgronje, C. (published anonymously), 'Prins Faisal Bin Abdal-Aziez Al-Sa'oed', in: *Verspreide geschriften van C. Hurgronje*, part VI, p. 465.
[558] Dingemans, *Bij Allah's buren*, p. 106.
[559] >http://saudiarabia.nlembassy.org/press_and_culture/bilateral_relations< [Accessed on November 5, 2009].

On September 18, 1932 the dual monarchy of Nejd and Hejaz was unified in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.[560] Dingemans wrote that Snouck Hurgronje already in 1920 predicted that Ibn Saud was going to dispel King Husain and become king of a unified monarchy.[561] In 1933 Prince Faisal visited the Netherlands for the second time. Snouck Hurgronje and Wensick did receive Faisal in Leiden.[562] From 1924 until 1934 Snouck Hurgronje published numerous articles in the Dutch newspaper *De Telegraaf* about the resurrection of the Saudi's in Arabia.[563] The website of the Dutch Embassy in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia proclaims today that Snouck Hurgronje's "knowledge of the Arab language and the teachings of Prophet Muhammad have strongly served the bilateral relations and understanding between the two countries".[564]

In October and November 1928, Snouck Hurgronje wrote about six articles for the Dutch newspaper *De Telegraaf* devoted to discuss H. Colijn's (1869-1944)[565] book *Koloniale vraagstukken van heden en morgen*. The same year all these articles were compiled in a separate brochure.[566] In these articles he again advocated for the interest of the indigenous population in the East Indies. He also showed his repugnance against the according to him superior behavior of the average European towards the indigenous population in the East Indies and he furthermore described how these Europeans loved to remind the Indies about their minor social and political status. He noted that there were no equal rights and that the indigenous population was treated unequal by the authorities. He concluded that the Indonesian population constantly was reminded of their subordinate position and the fact of have being dominated since the 17th century.

In Snouck Hurgronje's eyes the whole issue about the colony was a tragedy from beginning to end. Snouck Hurgronje stated that the majority of the Dutch who

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[560] Vassiliev, *The History of Saudi Arabia*, p. 284.
[561] Dingemans, *Bij Allah's buren,* p. 81.
[562] Dingemans, p. 158.
[563] Drewes, 'Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (1857-1936)', p. 525.
[564] >http://saudiarabia.nlembassy.org/press_and_culture/bilateral_relations< [Accessed on November 5, 2009].
[565] H. Colijn, Dutch politician and businessman. He served in the Royal Dutch East Indies Army (KNIL). In 1894 he participated in the Lombok expedition, from 1895 until 1904 he was active in Aceh. Between 1905 and 1909 he had various govermental positions in the East Indies. Was member of the Dutch Anti Revolutionary Party (ARP). Between 1922 and 1944 he was leader of this party. Colijn was prime minister (at that time: Chairman of the ministerials) in 1925-1926 and between 1933 and 1939.
[566] Snouck Hurgronje, *Colijn over Indië*, Amsterdam: H.J.W. Becht, 1928.

sought their fortune in the colony consisted of underdeveloped people.[567] Snouck Hurgronje argued for more Western education in the Dutch East Indies. He disagreed with people as Colijn who said that Western education would only lead to that the indigenous people become uprooted and alienated from their own community. Snouck Hurgronje wrote that extended education for the indigenous population was not the cause of uprisings as the communist one in Banten, 1926-1927. Snouck Hurgronje believed that just even more education was needed and that the cause of uprising was sealed in the colonial history in the fact of aversion against domination. Snouck Hurgronje said that the aversion of the Dutch ruler could be found among all social layers in the Indian society and not merely among those who defined themselves as intellectuals.[568] Snouck Hurgronje also thought that the Dutch authorities denigrated the *tarikahs* and saw them as a threat without knowing what their function really was. He pointed to policy makers that the devotion to *tarikahs* in the Indian archipelago was both very old and popular and politically completely innocent. If there had been any mobilization or resistance organized from the *tarikahs* against the Dutch ruler in the past, Snouck Hurgronje said that it had to be considered as an act that any association could have organized in case of aggression. Snouck Hurgronje stated that such organization was not specific to *tarikah's* but inherent to all associations.[569]

In 1925 Snouck Hurgronje was offered a professorship in Arabic at the recently founded National Egyptian Unversity of Cairo.[570] At the occasion of Snouck Hurgronjes 70th birthday in 1927, his friends and colleagues established the *Foundation Oriental Institute (*Stichting Oosters Instituut). The establishment marked Snouck Hurgronje's retirement of active academic life and Prof. dr. A.J. Wensinck (1882-1939) succeded him. However, for a small group of students Snouck Hurgronje continued giving lectures after his emeritation.[571] Snouck Hurgronje received these students in his house on Rapenburg 61 in Leiden. H.H. Dingemans, one of his students, later described Snouck Hurgronje as someone who was non-Dutch dauntless, severe, armored and a man with vision. Dingemans remembered in his

[567] Snouck Hurgronje, *Colijn over Indië*, p. 36.
[568] Snouck Hurgronje, p. 12.
[569] Snouck Hurgronje, p. 27.
[570] Drewes, 'Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (1857-1936)', p. 525.
[571] Moereels, *Chr. Snouck Hurgronje (8-2-1857–26-6-1936)*, p. 44. This University opened in 1908 as the small Western-styled private Egyptian University. In 1925 it became a state University and later it was renamed Fu'ad I University in 1940 and Cairo University in 1954.
See: > http://www.cu.edu.eg/english/ < [Accessed on November 21, 2009]

memoir how Snouck Hurgronje sometimes eviscerated on his students.[572] . Snouck Hurgronje was described as a fiery volcano that could suddenly erupt if something was not to his satisfaction. His students felt both admire and fear for their teacher. Students who didn't understand the matter or gave wrong answers to their harsh teacher got plagued. However, Snouck Hurgronje expected a response to his provocations.[573]

Snouck Hurgronje passed away on June 26, 1936[574] in his home on Rapenburg 61. On June 29, 1936 there was a general notice of his dead in the newspaper *Leidsch Dagblad*.[575] On June 30, 1936 his wife and daughter placed a notice about his death in the same local newspaper.[576] Snouck Hurgronje had a life insurance and after his death, a sum of *f* 5000, - was paid to each of his children in the Dutch East Indies. However, Snouck Hurgronje's children in the East Indies were not heirs.[577] Snouck Hurgronje's daughter Christien Liefrinck-Snouck Hurgronje has had contact with her half brother Raden Joesoef.[578]

Snouck Hurgronje and De Goeje are both buried on the cemetery Groenesteeg in Leiden. In 1937, Rapenburg 61 passed into the hands of the current owner, Leiden University Fund. Snouck Hurgronje gave a legate of fl 1000 to the Royal Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences (Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van kunsten en wetenschappen) a Dutch learned society in Batavia (Jakarta) at the time.[579] In Leidsch Dagblad on July 2, 1936 was reported that Snouck Hurgronje was remembered in various magazines in the East Indies. In this notification was said that "Abdoel Ghaffaar, the friend of Islam..."[580] had past away. There was further reported that Snouck Hurgronje was a weak ethicist, but a fighter for justice and thanks to him it was possible for van Heutsz to pacify Aceh.[581]

In 1985 Snouck Hurgronje's travel to Mecca was commemorated with the exhibition *Honderd jaar Mekka in Leiden*. In the spring of 2007 a second exposition was devoted to Snouck Hurgronje at the library of Leiden University. The catalouge

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[572] Dingemans, *Bij Allah's buren*, p. 26.
[573] This is confirmed by prof. J.J. Witkam. Conversation conducted with J.J. Witkam on November 10, 2009.
[574] Moereels, *Chr. Snouck Hurgronje (8-2-1857–26-6-1936)*, p. 45.
[575] *Leidsch Dagblad*, June 29, 1936
[576] *Leidsch Dagblad*, June 30, 1936.
[577] Van Koningsveld, 'Snouck Hurgronje: Moslim of niet?', p. 118.
[578] C.E.G. Ten Houte de Lange, *Familiefonds Hurgronje 1767-1992,* p. 328.
[579] *Nieuwe Leidsche Courant*, November 11, 1936.
[580] *Leidsch Dagblad*, July 2, 1936.
[581] *Leidsch Dagblad*, July 2, 1936.

Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (1857-1936), Orientalist. Catalogue of an exhibition on the sesquicentenary of his birth, 8 February 2007 was published in connection with this exhibition.[582] Snouck Hurgronje's aged daughter Christien Liefrinck-Snouck Hurgronje today lives in The Hague.[583]

[582] A. Vrolijk and H. Van de Velde, with introd. essay by: Jan Just Witkam, *Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (1857-1936), Orientalist:catalogue of an exhibition on the sesquicentenary of his birth, 8 February 2007*, Leiden: Leiden University Library, 2007.
[583] This is confirmed by prof. J.J. Witkam. Conversation conducted with J.J. Witkam on November 10, 2009.

Part II
Perception on Snouck Hurgronje

1. Introduction

1.1 First critical voices

Snouck Hurgronje has been cherished and discredited both during his lifetime and afterwards. This chapter will particularly discuss the criticism on Snouck Hurgronje that came up after his death. Our emphasis is on the discussion that began in 1979 in the Netherlands in response to a lecture on Snouck Hurgronje conducted by P. Sj. Van Koningsveld. But before we deal with this debate, it is necessary to introduce some scholars who discussed Snouck Hurgronje and his work before the forementioned lecture. In chronological order these were the scholars: Harry J. Benda (1919-1971), Jacques Waardenburg (b. 1930) and Willem F. Wertheim (1907-1998)[584]. They are of importance as they were the first criticizers of Snouck Hurgronje after his death.

Benda was born in a Prague Jewish family. When Czechoslovakia was completely annexed by Hitler in 1939, Benda's father arranged a job for his son in a Dutch trading firm in the Dutch East Indies. Benda settled down in Java and learned to live as a merchant. He also discovered the great indigenous traditions around him and attained an intellectual interest in the people of Java. In 1942 Japan invaded the Dutch East Indies. Benda was interned in a Japanese camp in 1943. After the Indonesian liberation from Japan (and the Netherlands) in 1945, he came to New Zealand as a refugee. In New Zealand Benda earned his Master's degree. From New Zealand he went to the United States where he earned a doctorate in the Southeast Asian program at Cornell University. Later he became assistant professor in History at Rochester University. In 1959 Benda came to the history department of Yale where he continued to pursue his passion for Java.[585] Benda particularly treated the colonial and post-colonial representations of Islam in Indonesia. Benda thought of Snouck Hurgronje in many ways as being a representative of the ethical era. However, Benda

[584] >http://www.iisg.nl/archives/nl/files/w/10776957.php< [Accessed on November 20, 2009]
[585] Ruth T. Mcvey, 'Obituary: Harry J. Benda', in: *The Journal of Asian Studies*, Ann Arbor: Association for Asian Studies, vol. 31, no 3 (May 1972).

considered that with his (read: Snouck Hurgronje's) vision he rose far above his contemporaries.[586]

Waardenburg studied at the University of Amsterdam and earned his doctorate in 1961 with the dissertation *L'Islam dans le miroir de l'Occident.* Between 1968 and 1987, Waardenburg taught at Utrecht University. Then he became a professor in Islamic studies and comparative Religious studies in Lausanne. Waardenburg stayed in Lausanne until his retirement in 1995. In his dissertation *L'Islam dans le miroir de l'Occident*[587] Waardenburg examined five, in his eyes, important experts (among others Snouck Hurgronje) as makers of an image of Islam. Waardenburg concluded that those scholars shared a methodological tradition and that each of them shaped a coherent vision of Islam that influenced governments in the Western world.[588] Waardenburg noted that until recently Islamic studies was part of orientalism and that the history of non-Western civilization was in the past often seen through the point of view of European history. According to Waardenburg, did the unequal political relationships between western states and Muslim countries influence the way which Muslim societies and 'Islam' were viewed and judged in the West.[589]

Wertheim was born in a Jewish family in Saint Petersburg. Wertheim studied law at Leiden University and in 1931 he went to the Dutch East Indies to work as a judicial officer. Between 1936 and 1942 he was a Professor at the law school in Batavia (Jakarta) and between 1946-1972 Professor in sociology and modern history of Indonesia at the University of Amsterdam (then GU, Gemeente Universiteit). In 1956-1957 Wertheim was a visiting professor in Indonesia. In the years 1957-1983, Wertheim did occasional research and travel in China and India. Wertheim published 'Counter-insurgency research at the turn of the Century-Snouck Hurgronje and the Acheh'[590] and called Snouck Hurgronje an agent of colonial oppression.[591] Wertheim assumed that Snouck Hurgronje was convinced of that his recommendations about

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[586] See: Benda, *The Crescent and the Rising Sun: Indonesian Islam under the Japanese occupation 1942-1945*, 1958 and 'Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje and the foundations of Dutch Islam policy in Indonesia', in: *The Journal of Modern History* 30, 1958.
[587] See: J.J. Waardenburg, *L'Islam dans le miroir de l'Occident, 1961.* Source not consulted.
[588] Said, *Orientalism*, 2004, p. 210.
[589] Waardenburg, 'Islamic Studies and the History of Religions', p. 415.
[590] See: W.F. Wertheim, 'Counter-insurgency research at the turn of the Century-Snouck Hurgronje and the Acheh', 1972.
[591] B. Berger, 'Levenslang tegen de stroom in/W.F. Wertheim 1907-1998', in: *Trouw*, November 4, 1998. Also see: *Internationaal instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis*, >http://www.iisg.nl/archives/nl/files/w/10776957.php<, [Accessed on November 20, 2009]

Aceh would eventually serve both parties in the war. However, he criticized Snouck Hurgronje because he identified himself with the Dutch colonial government.[592]

2. The controversy in 1979 and beyond

2.1 Participants

On November 16, 1979 a fierce controversy surrounding Snouck Hurgronje exploded, taking place in the Dutch media and lasting until late in the 1980s. The launch of this debate was a lecture delivered by Pieter Sjoerd Van Koningsveld (b. 1943) for the Netherlands Oriental Society (het Oosters Genootschap) entitled: *Snouck Hurgronje as he was* (*Snouck Hurgronje zoals hij was*). The title of Van Koningsveld's lecture may have been a response to the hope that G.W.J. Drewes expressed in a lecture he gave in 1957 in commemoration of Snouck Hurgronje's hundredth birthday: "that a later generation are seeing his (Snouck Hurgronje's) whole work as it had been".[593] Van Koningsveld ended his lecture with that "the legendary reputation of Leiden as the Mecca of Oriental studies, shows to be part of the Western mythology." [594]

The people involved in the Dutch debate were: Prof. P.Sj. Van Koningsveld (b. 1943)[595], Paul Marijnis (1948-2008)[596], Frits Staal (b. 1930)[597], Frank Schröder (b. 1945)[598], L.I. Graf (1908-199)[599], and Prof. Jan Just Witkam (b. 1945)[600] in his role as editor of the special edition of the literary magazine *De Gids* where the first articles by Van Koningsveld, Schröder and Graf were published.[601] Witkam edited

[592] L.I. Graf, 'Snouck Hurgronje en zijn critici', in: *De Gids 9/10*, 1980, p. 808.
[593] G.W.J. Drewes, *Snouck Hurgronje en de Islamwetenschap*, p. 15.
[594] Van Koningsveld, 'Snouck Hurgronje zoals hij was', in: De Gids 9/10, 1980, p. 780.
[595] Van Koningsveld, Studied Semitic languages at VU University between 1962-1968. Religious history of Islam in Western Europe. Adviser of the Dutch government in matters concerning Islam. See: D. Vlasblom, 'De Hollandse moefti', in: *NRC Handelsblad*, 21-03-2009. Vlablom said in this article that Van Koningsveld followed Snouck Hurgronje in his footsteps as both were engaged in applied Islamic studies.
[596] Paul Marijnis, journalist at NRC Handelsblad in the 1970s and 1980s, debuted as novel writer in 2003.
[597] Staal was Professor of philosophy a South & Southeast Asian studies University of California, Berkley, 1968-1991. Was Professor of general and comparative philosophy at University of Amsterdam 1962-1967.
[598] Frank Schröder, Candidate Arabic literature and translater in Leiden.
[599] L.I. Graf, Doctorate in 1934 at Leiden Univerisyt under supervision of Snouck Hurgronje.
[600] J. J. Witkam, Professor of codicology and paleography of the Islamic world at Leiden University.
[601] Witkam (ed.), *De Arabische wereld. De geschiedenis en betekenis van de Islam / Arabische taal, poëzie en politieke herrijzenis / Nederlands koloniaal verleden,* De Gids, 1980.

the first Dutch edition of *Mekka* vol. 2, which was published in 2007. In the introduction to *Mekka*, Witkam commented on the debate that arose in 1979.[602]

In the early nineteenth sixties Prof. P.Sj. Van Koningsveld (b. 1943) began his studies in Semitic literature and law at VU University in Amsterdam. Van Koningsveld majored in Arabic and this brought him into contact with Islam. After his Master's degree, Van Koningsveld worked a couple of years at the Keesings Historisch archief (a databank with full articles on contemporary world history) and wrote obituaries. In 1969 Van Koningsveld became curator of Oriental manuscripts at Leiden University Library. Van Koningsveld was especially interested in Andalusian mediaeval manuscripts. In 1974 he started teaching an introductory lecture on Islam at the theological faculty of Leiden University. In 1976 Van Koningsveld received his doctorate on the relationship between Christians and Muslims in medieval Spain. In 1992 he became Professor of religious history of the Islam in Western Europe and in 1998 head of the department of religious history.[603] All articles and lectures by Van Koningsveld on Snouck Hurgronje were compiled in *Snouck Hurgronje en de Islam. Acht artikelen over leven en werk van een oriëntalist uit het koloniale tijdperk* (1987). There is also an Indonesian translation of this book.[604]

L.I. Graf (1908-1992) was a former student of both Snouck Hurgronje and Wensinck. In 1934 Graf defended his dissertation. Graf attended Snouck Hurgronje's classes about Aceh. Graf worked as a governmental official in the Dutch East Indies from 1936 until 1950 after the independence of Indonesia. Later he worked for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and was among others Ambassador in Bucharest. Arabic was a hobby to him.

Prof. Frits Staal (b. 1930) is a philosopher and linguist. He first studied mathematics, physics and philosophy at the University of Amsterdam and later continued with Indian philosophy and Sanskrit at Madras and Banaras, India. Between 1962 and 1967 Staal was a Professor General and Comparative philosophy at the University of Amsterdam. In 1968 Staal became a Professor of Philopsophy and South Asian Languages at the University of California, Berkley. Staal was emeritated in 1991.

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[602] Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, transl. by Witkam, 2007, p. 82.
[603] See: D. Vlasblom, 'De Hollandse moefti', in: *NRC Handelsblad*, 21-03-2009.
[604] Witkam, 'Introduction', in: Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, p. 179.

Prof. Jan Just Witkam (b. 1945) studied Arabic, Persian and modern history of the Middle East between 1964 and 1972. Witkam is a former student of J. Brugman and G.W.J. Drewes. In 1968 he received his bachelor's in Arabic, Persian and Islamology. In 1970 Witkam studied Persian literature at Tehran University. In 1972 he received his Master's degree in Arabic, Persian, and Modern History of the Middle East. Between 1972 and 1974 he worked at the Netherlands Organization of Scientific Research (ZWO). In 1974 Witkam became staff member at Leiden University Library and in 1975 he succeeded Van Koningsveld as curator of Leiden University Library. Witkam received his doctorate in 1989 with a dissertation about the Egyptian Doctor Ibn al-Akfani and his classification of the sciences.

Between 1980 and 2005 Witkam was curator of Oriental manuscripts and printed books at Leiden University Library. Witkam became Professor of Paleography and Codicology of the Islamic world at the University of Leiden in 2001. In the introduction to *Mekka* (2007), Witkam acknowledged that he thought that many of Van Koningsveld's issues weren't particularly relevant. Witkam mentioned among others the questions about conversion and whether Snouck Hurgronje took good care of his Indonesian family. Witkam moreover said that other things about Snouck Hurgronje were more relevant and that Snouck Hurgronje "had other things to hide, and did this successfully".[605] Unfortunately Witkam doesn't mention what he indicated on.[606] Paul Marijnis (1948-2008) was a writer and journalist from Leiden. Marijnis was editor at the Dutch newspaper NRC Handelsblad. Frank Schröder (b. 1945) was a translator of Arabic. Together with J. Brugman (1923-2004) Schröder published *Arabic studies in the Netherlands* (1979).

The debate about Snouck Hurgronje was not confined to merely intellectual issues on him but was partly conducted on a personal level; ad homonym accusations were not uncommon. There are a number of examples of such accusations by Schröder on the address of Van Koningsveld, all can't be mentioned here, however one example was: "the author (read: Van Koningsveld) has an account to settle with Christianity" (de auteur heeft een rekeningheeft te vereffenen met het christendom).[607] In turn, Van Koningsveld called Graf: "a student by admiration for his teacher hypnotized (Graf was a former student of Snouck Hurgronje) who does

[605] Witkam, 'Introduction', in: Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, 2007, p. 180.
[606] Witkam, p. 180.
[607] Schröder, 'Oriëntalistische retoriek: Van Koningsveld over de vuile handen van Snouck Hurgronje', p. 785. See furthermoree p. 793, 802 and 804 in the same article.

not tolerate any criticism of his teacher".[608] All participants of the debate besides Frits Staal were working and/or living in Leiden and/or had studied at Leiden University.

The debate was also influenced by conceptions of universalism respectively cultural relativism. The two dominant paradigms in the historiography of Snouck Hurgronje can be characterized as a universal paradigm and a relativist paradigm. It was agreed on that Snouck Hurgronje was an Orientalist; however there was a disagreement between those who considered him and his work time and place-bound and those who did not. Those who considered Snouck Hurgronje and his work to be time and place-bound saw the importance of his research. Those who considered Snouck Hurgronje and his work to be not time and place-bound found his work of less importance. The fact that the debate took place in Dutch media, and for example not in scholarly journals, made it not a purely scholarly debate. Also the diversity of (professional) background and/or discipline of the debaters played a role on the different positions they took.

In 1984 Schröder announced that he would write a biography on Snouck Hurgronje. Van Koningsveld wrote in 1987 that this promise most likely consisted of hot air in his view, having seen his experience with Schröder thus far. Moreover Van Koningsveld thought it was too early to write a biography at that stage because the archive was not yet fully accessible and therefore in his opinion, a lot of editing work needed to be done first.[609] Witkam may be more positive about Schröder's work, but in the introduction of *Mekka* (2007) he acknowledged the stagnation of Schröder's academic work and his broken promise. There is still not yet a biography published on Snouck Hurgronje.

2.2 Politics

Snouck Hurgronje's practical involvement with Dutch colonial projects was already evident in 1979 through the work of Benda, Waardenburg and Wertheim. However, there was some disagreement about the value of Snouck Hurgronje's work and how it should be assessed. On December 8, 1979 Paul Marijnis's article 'De dubbelrol van een Islam-kenner' was published in the newspaper *NRC Handelsblad*. The article was

[608] Van Koningsveld, 'Snouck Hurgronje alias Abdoel-Ghaffar. Enige historisch-kritische kanttekeningen', in: *Snouck Hurgronje en de Islam*, p. 115.
[609] Van Koningsveld, *Snouck Hurgronje en de Islam,* p. 7.

a report on Van Koningsveld's lecture on November 16, 1979. Marijnis began the article by describing Snouck Hurgronje as a scholar and an official of great reputation, maybe even one of the greatest scholars of Islamic studies at his time. Then Marijnis set out Van Koningsveld's findings and Snouck Hurgronje's cunning behavior according to these. Marijnis article showed the contradiction of Snouck Hurgronje's reputation and his practical work. Marijnis followed Van Koningsveld's argumentation of Snouck Hurgronje's dual role. Van Koningsveld had made an argument that Snouck Hurgronje operated under the guise of scholarly work but in reality was the architect behind the policy in Aceh. To speak in Van Koningsveld's words, Aceh culminated in a bloody subjugation. Marijnis reported that Van Koningsveld thought that even if one took consideration of that Snouck Hurgronje lived in another era, he was to be considered as one of the most enthusiastic colonizers of his time. In Van Koningsveld's view, Snouck Hurgronje's scholarly work was entirely in service of his practical work for the Ministry of colonial affairs.[610]

The text of Van Koningveld's lecture was published in *De Gids* (143/9-10, 1980), together with two reactions. One reaction was written by Louis I. Graf and entitled 'Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje en zijn critici';[611] another reaction came from Frank Schröder with the title 'Orientalistische retoriek: Van Koningsveld over de vuile handen van Snouck Hurgronje'.[612]

Van Koningsveld wrote in the introduction of *Snouck Hurgronje en de Islam. Acht artikelen over leven en werk van een oriëntalist uit het koloniale tijdperk* that after he had given his lecture at the Netherlands Oriental Society, Schröder had asked him if he was interested in publishing his lecture in a particular edition about the Arab World in the general cultural and literary magazine *De Gids*?. To that Van Koningsveld agreed. In Van Koningsveld's view they also agreed that only Schröder would write a reply. However, before the publication of this edition, Van Koningsveld's lecture had already elicited already a large response in various newspapers. Van Koningsveld said that he wanted to respond to the accusations about his lecture and therefore sent an article to NRC Handelsblad, but the newspaper answered him saying the discussion was closed and the article was never published.

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[610] Marijnis, 'De dubbelrol van een Islam-kenner', in: *NRC Handelsblad*, December 8, 1979.
[611] Graf, 'Snouck Hurgronje en zijn critici', in: *De GidS 9/10*, 1980, p. 807.
[612] Schröder, 'Orientalistische retoriek: P. Sj. Van Koningsveld over de vuile handen van C. Snouck Hurgronje', in: *De Gids*,

Because of this, Van Koningsveld chose to publish his response, with a few changes, in *Mare*, the magazine of Leiden University.[613] Van Koningsveld's response was entitled 'Oriental studies as colonial auxiliary science: Snouck Hurgronje's "conversion" to Islam' ('Oriëntalistiek als koloniale hulpwetenschap: Snouck Hurgronje's "bekering" tot de Islam') and published in *Mare* on March 13, 1980.

Witkam also invited L.I. Graf to write a response on Van Koningsveld's lecture to be published in the particular edition of the *De Gids* that was devoted to the Arab world. According to Van Koningsveld this invitation had happened without his knowledge and he accused Witkam with a lack of impartiality.[614] Witkam in contrary thought it was necessary with a solid reply to Van Koningsveld's lecture and his ideas of the state of affairs and therefore he had also asked Graf for a contribution.[615]

In the introduction to the *De Gids* edition, Witkam wrote that the contribution of Van Koningsveld was incorporated in the edition because, according to him, it was an excellent example of "how a Western scholar assimilates himself to an Arab nationalist position."[616] Witkam believes that Van Koningsveld's sudden interest in Snouck Hurgronje in 1979 was due to his friendship with Prof. Qasim Al-Samarrai and the sources with which he provided Van Koningsveld with. Qasim Al-Samarrai was born in Baghdad and acquired and held a teaching post at Leiden University at that time. Due to Witkam, Van Koningsveld's connection with Al-Samarrai and the outcome of his work explains why Van Koningsveld did not publish anything on Snouck Hurgronje after the compilation of his articles in *Snouck Hurgronje en de Islam* in 1987 and why he never published the sources of some his publications on Snouck Hurgronje.[617] Witkam stressed that this is his view and that there is no publication on this.[618]

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[613] Van Koningsveld, *Snouck Hurgronje en de Islam*, p. 10.
[614] Van Koningsveld, p. 13.
[615] This is confirmed by prof. J.J. Witkam. Conversation conducted with J.J. Witkam on November 10, 2009.
[616] Witkam (ed.), *De Arabische wereld. De geschiedenis en betekenis van de Islam / Arabische taal, poëzie en politieke herrijzenis / Nederlands koloniaal verleden,* De Gids, 1980, p. 596.
[617] For example of publications without published sources see: Snouck Hurgronje, C. *Orientalism and Islam. The letters of C. Snouck Hurgronje to Th. Nöledeke*, P. Sj. Van Koningsveld (ed.), Leiden: Rijksuniversiteit Leiden, 1985. Snouck Hurgronje, C. *Scholarship and friendship in early Islamwissenschaft: the letters of C. Snouck Hurgronje to I. Goldziher from the Oriental Collection of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest*. Van Koningsveld (ed.), Leiden: Rijksuniversiteit Leiden, 1985. Snouck Hurgronje, C. *Minor German correspondences of C. Snouck Hurgronje from libraries in France, Germany, Sweden, and The Netherlands*, Van Koningsveld (ed.), Leiden: Rijksuniveresiteit Leiden, 1987.
[618] This is confirmed by prof. J.J. Witkam. Conversation conducted with J.J. Witkam on November 10, 2009.

Qasim Al-Samarrai became the first head of the unit for study of Orientalism and Christian Missionaries as a Western discipline at the Research centre of the Islamic University of Muhammad ibn Saud in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia.[619] Al-Samarrai thought that it was their task ('the Orientals') to represent themselves and not for the Western Orientalists to do so.[620] Al-Samarrai wrote: "the Orientalist should be blamed for our (read: Arabs) hostile attitude towards them, for it is their own hostility towards us. "Why should they be offended when we sell them back their own products."[621] However, Al-Samarrai also thought that Orientalists had been pioneers in applying strictly scholarly methodology in their research on religion, which had indeed influenced Arabs way of doing research too. Albeit, Al-Samarrai was sceptic about the shortcomings of the study of Islam as it had developed in Europe during the last century.[622]

On May 1, 1982 Van Koningsveld gave a lecture in Utrecht for the *Netherlands Association for the History of Religions* (NGG or *Nederlands Genootschap van Godsdiensthistorici*) entitled: 'Snouck Hurgronje alias Abdoel-Ghaffar. Some historical-critical remarks' ('Snouck Hurgronje alias Abdoel-Ghaffar. Enige historisch-kritische kanttekeningen'). Van Koningveld's lecture was previously issued as a booklet by the Faculty of Theology of Leiden University in 1982.[623] Central to Van Koningsveld's argument was that he thought that Snouck Hurgronje had misused his name as a renowed scholar of Islamic studies to put forward a moral justification of the Aceh war. Van Koningsveld indicated that Snouck Hurgronje had been a spy of the Dutch government and so had abused the trust he enjoyed among acquaintances and other confidants of his in the East Indies.[624] Oppponents to Van Koningsveld's position stressed that the Aceh war waged for many years before Snouck Hurgronje got involved and found it unfair that his work was reduced to include only Aceh. Besides, they added that the subjugation and pacification of Aceh did in the end not go according to the plans of Snouck Hurgronje.[625]

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[619] Q. Al-Samarrai, 'Discussions on Orientalism in present-day Saudi Arabia', in: Gerard A. Wiegers (ed.), *Modern Societies & the Science of Religions. Studies in Honour of Lammert Leertouwer*. Leiden/Boston/Köln: Brill, 2002, p. 282.
[620] Al-Samarrai, 'Discussions on Orientalism in present-day Saudi Arabia', p. 298.
[621] Al-Samarrai, p. 299.
[622] Al-Samarrai, p. 291.
[623] Van Koningsveld, *Snouck Hurgronje en de Islam*, p. 5.
[624] Van Koningsveld, 'Snouck Hurgronje zoals hij was', in: De Gids 9/10, 1980, p. 777.
[625] Schröder, 'Oriëntalistische retoriek: Van Koningsveld over de vuile handen van Snouck Hurgronje', p. 799.

In Schröder's view, Snouck Hurgronje was used by the Dutch rulers when it suited them and not vice versa.[626] Graf agreed on that Snouck Hurgronje used participatory observation as a method but pointed out that Snouck Hurgronje had been really successful to get through deep into Islam and according to Graf he did this with maybe a greater engagement than a non-moslim had ever reached before. Graf said that Snouck Hurgronje's success to do so does not imply that everything he did can be justified. However, Graf argued that even if some of Snouck Hurgronje's practical involvement can't be justified anymore, it does not mean that his work is of less significance or does not encompass any valuable knowledge to later generations.[627]

On June 9, 1989 Frits Staal treated Snouck Hurgronje in an article in *de Volkskrant*. Staal wrote that if we want to understand Snouck Hurgronje's position we should not compare him with our current thinking about colonialism and imperialism, how different they may be. Instead, Staal thought that we should look at the period in which he lived. Staal guessed that Snouck Hurgronje's ideas today would seem too paternalistic. However, Staal added that Snouck Huronje's ideas should not be confused with a Christian urge for conversion. Staal said that Snouck Hurgronje's ideas on a secular Islam had to do with Snouck Hurgronje's ideas about religion in general. Staal assented that if Snouck Hurgronje had lived today we would certainly have disagreed with him in many respects. However, Staal believed that Snouck Hurgronje would then respond with a flood of arguments and this makes him a modern man in the eyes of Staal.[628]

Van Koningsveld also criticized scholars such as R. Peters (b. 1943)[629] and C.A.O. van Nieuwenhuijze (b. 1920)[630] because in his view they maintained a separation between Snouck Hurgronje's scholarly and his political work.[631] Waardenburg thought that C.A.O.van Nieuwenhuijze contributed much to Islamic

[626] Schröder, 'Oriëntalistische retoriek: Van Koningsveld over de vuile handen van Snouck Hurgronje', p. 800.
[627] Graf, 'Snouck Hurgronje en zijn critici', p. 809.
[628] Frits Staal, 'Moeder vindt beter dat ik geen Sanskriet doe', in: *de Volkskrant*, June 9, 1989.
[629] R. Peters, emeritus, Associate Professor department of Arabic and Islamic Studies 1987, UvA and extraordinary Professor for the Law of Islam and the Middle East, 1992-2008, UvA. Between 1982 and 1982 he was director of the Netherlands Flemish Institute in Cairo (NVIC).
[630] C.A.O van Nieuwenhuize, Emeritus of Sociology at the Institute of Social Studies in The Hague. His main writing was on Islam in Indonesia and the Middle East.
[631] Van Koningsveld, 'Snouck Hurgronje zoals hij was', p. 779.

studies in Dutch scholarship because of his study of Islam within a sociological framework that paved the way for new kinds of research in the Netherlands.[632]

On April 14, 1984, *NRC Handelsblad* published a letter by Van Koningsveld. Van Koningveld's letter was written in response to Schröder's article 'Abd al-Ghaffar – Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje', which had been published in *NRC Handelsblad* on March 10, 1984.[633] Van Koningsveld wrote in this letter that he thought that Schröder, in his article, had given a very cynical portrait of Snouck Hurgronje. Van Koningsveld called Schröder's article a 'hagiography' of Snouck Hurgronje. In 1985 Van Koningsveld published a booklet entitled *Snouck Hurgronje's "Izhaar oel-Islaam". A neglected aspect of the colonial history.* (*Snouck Hurgronje's "Izhaar oel-Islaam". Een veronachtzaam aspect van de koloniale geschiedenis).* An excerpt of this booklet was published in the Dutch literary magazine Tirade in 1985. In 1987 Van Koningsveld wrote about the *Colonial remains in contemporary Dutch policy on Islam* (*Koloniale restanten in het hedendaagse Nederlandse islambeleid).*[634]

In Van Koningveld's view there were still not yet any studies of Snouck Hurgronje written using a historical critical method. He argued therefore that this would happen. Van Koningsveld thought that the compilation of Snouck Hurgronje's work: *Verspreide geschriften*[635] should not be adopted as canonical texts because of the deviations from the original ones. These differences consisted of changes that Snouck Hurgronje had introduced into *Verspreide geschriften*.[636] Witkam later commented on Van Koningsveld's view on these changes. In Witkam's view it was inevitable that there was a difference of ideas between the young unexperienced Snouck Hurgronje and the aged with all his experience.[637]

Van Koningsveld did not believe that the real motive of Snouck Hurgronje to visit Mecca[638] was to gain theoretical knowledge through practical experience as Snouck Hurgronje himself described his goal of this trip. Van Koningsveld argued

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[632] Waardenburg,' Islamic Studies in Dutch Scholarship', in: A. Nanji (ed.), *Mapping Islamic Studies. Genealogy, Continuity and Change*, p. 77.
[633] Van Koningsveld, 'Brieven' in: *NRC Handelsbald,* Saturday supplement, April 14, 1984, p. 9.
[634] Van Koningsveld, 'Koloniale restanten in het hedendaagse Nederlandse islambeleid', in: M.B. Ter Borg and L. Leertouwer (ed.), *Het neo-realisme in de politiek theologisch beschouwd*, 1987.
[635] See: Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide geschriften van C. Snouck Hurgronje*, 7 volumes, bibliography and register by A.J. Wensinck, 1923-1927.
[636] Van Koningsveld, 'Snouck Hurgronje zoals hij was', in: De Gids 9/10, 1980, p. 766.
[637] This is confirmed by prof. J.J. Witkam. Conversation conducted with J.J. Witkam on November 10, 2009.
[638] Van Koningsveld admitted that nowhere in the official documents that he had come accross, Mecca was mentioned as the actual destination. It was always a bout a trip to Jeddah. See: Van Koningsveld, 'Snouck Hurgronje zoals hij was', in: De Gids 9/10, 1980, p. 773.

that the real reason for Snouck Hurgronje's Mecca trip was not science but his involvement in Dutch colonial policy. As evidence indicate Van Koningsveld referred to a meeting between Snouck Hurgronje and Habîb 'Abd ar-Rahmân az-Zâhir. Habîb 'Abd ar-Rahmân az-Zâhir was an administrator in Jeddah on behalf of the Sultan of Aceh. Van Koningsveld wrote that during this meeting in Jeddah they discussed ideas about an eventual pacification of Aceh.[639] Van Koningsveld contended that Snouck Hurgronje's trip to Arabia had an explicit colonial-political background/intention. Van Koningsveld stressed Snouck Hurgronje's colonial role and influence on the policy of Aceh.[640]

Schröder thought that Van Koningsveld's way of arguing was a "rhetorical trick"[641], and noted that Snouck Hurgronje's colonial-political connection was already clear from the fact when he taught at the Municipial Institute for the Training of East Indies Civil Servants (Gemeentelijke Instelling voor de Opleiding van Oostindische Ambtenaren) in Leiden after his dissertation and before his trip to Arabia. Simultaneously, Snouck Hurgronje's polemics with Van den Berg, convened on issues about the Islamic nature of the Dutch East Indian society. Schröder also mentioned the fact that Wertheim already revealed Snouck Hurgronje's political connection. In Schröder's view, Van Koningsveld's 'disclosures' were old news.[642] Schröder thought that Van Koningsveld acted as if he was the revealer of the colonial connection and the less pleasant facts of Snouck Hurgronje, while everyone involved already had read Wertheim and knew about Snouck Hurgronje's practical/pragmatic involvement.[643]

Graf argued for that we should be aware of the difference of norms at the time of Snouck Hurgronje, and the relevance when the discussion took place. Graf's argument contends that Snouck Hurgronje was mainly a man of his time and that he also should be assessed to the standards of his time. Besides, Graf added that in the era of Snouck Hurgronje there were other standards and it was a politically complex era. Different factors in Europe created a desire for expansion, which in turn added to the complexity of the time. The desire for expansion was driven by the rivalry between the great powers. It was a time of modern imperialism. However, Graf said

[639] Van Koningsveld, 'Snouck Hurgronje zoals hij was', p. 771.
[640] Van Koningsveld, 'Als Moefti vermomd', June 21, 1986, p. 9.
[641] Schröder, 'Oriëntalistische retoriek: Van Koningsveld over de vuile handen van Snouck Hurgronje', p. 794.
[642] Schröder, p. 794.
[643] Schröder, p. 787.

that he didn't want to explain away imperialism. However, he thought it was extremely important to be aware of the circumstances in order to understand Snouck Hurgronje and his ideas.[644]

Graf's main objection against the criticism of Wertheim and Van Koningsveld on Snouck Hurgronje was that they didn't test Snouck Hurgronje's action against his value patterns, but simply against their own value patterns (according to Graf). Graf thought it was too easy to condemn Snouck Hurgronje's advice and actions in the case of Aceh. Graf reminded the critics that Snouck Hurgronje believed that an implementation of his recommendations would steer future developments of Aceh in the right direction.[645] Graf wrote that Van Koningsveld's indictment against Snouck Hurgronje for stigmatization of the people of Aceh was based on only one passage from *De Atjehers.* Graf's main criticism against Van Koningsveld was his reasoning. In Graf's view, Van Koningsveld used passages that confirmed his (read: Van Koningveld's) views, but kept silence about passages that did not fit into these views or were in contradiction to them.[646]

Van Koningsveld thought that Snouck Hurgronje's scholarly work was of little value due to the lack of verification in Snouck Hurgronje's work. Van Koningveld thought that Snouck Hurgronje often was unclear about how and from whom he received certain information. Therefore Van Koningsveld thought that Snouck Hurgronje dismissed the proces of verification, which is essential in scholarly work. Van Koningsveld thought that this lack of verification could be applied too much of the work of Snouck Hurgronje. To prove his argument, Van Koningsveld uses the example of: *Report on the religious-political conditions in Aceh* (*Verslag omtrent de religious-politieke toestanden in Atjeh),* in which he argues bares diminutive significance as scholarly work. Van Koningsveld argued that the lack of verification made that Snouck Hurgronje's work today therefore was of little significance.[647]

Schröder replied to Van Koningsveld on the issue of verification by accusing Van Koningsveld himself for misusing verification himself by only using certain phrases that were applicable to confirm his (Van Koningveld's) ideas. Thus, Van

[644] Graf, 'Snouck Hurgronje en zijn critici', in: Witkam (e.a.), *De Arabische wereld. De geschiedenis en betekenis van de Islam/Arabische taal, poëzie en politieke herrijzenis/Nederlands koloniaal verleden,* De Gids no 9/10, 1980, p. 807.
[645] Graf, p. 809.
[646] Graf, p. 812.
[647] Van Koningsveld, 'Snouck Hurgronje zoals hij was', in: De Gids 9/10, 1980, p. 774.

Koningsveld was criticized for the same argument that he criticized Snouck Hurgronje for. Schröder wrote that "verification is his motto (insinuating on Van Koningsveld), and it is printed, so what more do you want?"[648] Both Schröder and Graf thought that Van Koningsveld instigated unnecessary suspicion against Snouck Hurgronje on questions where there was already much knowledge about. In their view, Van Koningsveld therefore prevented an inquiry of these questions.

Furthermore, Van Koningveld's critics accused him for muddling with facts by omitting passages. However, in 2007 Witkam concluded that Van Koningsveld was not always wrong in his findings, albeit criticism among his opponents was that Van Koningveld's presentation was methodically incorrect. Witkam also adds that he thinks that much of Van Koningsveld's work has a moral undertone.[649] As an example of 'wrong' methodology, Schröder mentioned the connections between theology and the East Indies, which Van Koningsveld claimed to have found in Snouck Hurgronje's life and work.[650] In turn, Van Koningsveld blamed Schröder for hardly mentioning Snouck Hurgronje's period in the East Indies. Van Koningsveld considered Snouck Hurgronje's period in the East Indies as the most important period of his life if one is to truly understand who he was.[651] Van Koningsveld thought that his critics had a 'mythological' image of Snouck Hurgronje.[652]

Graf argued that a scholar who writes on Snouck Hurgronje needs to make a distinction between Snouck Hurgronje's scholarly- and political work. Graf thought that Van Koningsveld accusation of Snouck Hurgronje of being a mere accomplice of colonialism is an academic error. Graf himself, said to have no interest in either to support or overlook an accusation of Snouck Hurgronje.[653] Graf considered Van Koningsveld's accusations on Snouck Hurgronje to be a distraction for further research on him. In Graf's view Van Koningsveld's work was dominated by a tunnel vision and therefore left behind many more relevant questions. Van Koningsveld in return blamed Graf for not criticizing Snouck Hurgronje at all. Van Koningsveld claimed that because of his position, Graf was a pupil of Snouck Hurgronje and

[648] Schröder, 'Oriëntalistische retoriek: Van Koningsveld over de vuile handen van Snouck Hurgronje', 1980, p. 789.
[649] Witkam, 'Introduction', in: Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, 2007, p. 180.
[650] Schröder, 'Oriëntalistische retoriek: Van Koningsveld over de vuile handen van Snouck Hurgronje', p. 789.
[651] Van Koningsveld, 'Als Moefti vermomd', June 21, 1986, p. 9.
[652] Koningsveld, *Snouck Hurgronje en de Islam,* p. 12.
[653] Graf, 'Snouck Hurgronje en zijn critici', p. 810.

former official in the East Indies; he was unable to have a critical sense about Snouck Hurgronje. Contrary to Van Koningsveld, Witkam thought that Graf had been critical towards his teacher.[654] Subsequently, the participants did not agree on whether the work of Snouck Hurgronje could be seen as valuable, due to his active involvement in the Dutch colonial politics. Van Koningsveld argued that Snouck Hurgronje's practical involvement in the Dutch colonial affairs and his conduct was inppropriate. Graf and Schröder argued that Snouck Hurgronje had to be looked at in a broader perspective. They thought that the circumstances of the time in which he lived had to be taken into consideration. Graf and Schröder found Snouck Hurgronje's work of value and even progressive for his time.

2.3 Conversion and Personal life

Snouck Hurgronje's conversion to Islam or 'the so called conversion' (depending on who you asked) became a hot topic. Van Koningsveld put much emphasis on the question of conversion in his writings. Furthermore, Van Koningsveld paid much attention to whether Snouck Hurgronje had been a genuine Muslim or not? Van Koningsveld also highlighted the issue about the exact moment when the conversion had actually taken place and whether it was sincere. Following this issue was the question whether Snouck Hurgronje had been open about his 'conversion' towards acquaintances and colleagues in Europe? Th. W. Juynboll said already in 1901, in his article *Dr. C. Snouck Hurgronje* that Snouck Hurgronje was an infidel.[655] According to Graf, there was no other possibility for Snouck Hurgronje to be admitted to Mecca without becoming a practicing Muslim. In Graf's view, Snouck Hurgronje had a conversion but was not "converted". Because there was no overall change of direction in the religious sense in the life of Snouck Hurgronje, one could not speak of conversion according to Graf. Graf further said that nothing in Snouck Hurgronje's behavior showed any intention of dissociation from the European sphere during his stay in Arabia. Graf did not regard Snouck Hurgronje as a particularly religious person at all.[656]

[654] Witkam, 'Introduction', in: Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, 2007, p. 179.
[655] Th W. Juynboll, *Dr. C. Snouck Hurgronje*, Haarlem: H.D. Tjeenk Willink, 1901, p. 51.
[656] Graf, 'Snouck Hurgronje en zijn critici', 1980, p. 810.

Van Koningsveld brought up the question whether Snouck Hurgronje's conversion was confirmed by the Ottoman authorities. Schröder did not find it relevant whether the Ottoman authorities had confirmed Snouck Hurgronje's conversion. According to Schröder, with or without the interference of the authorities, Snouck Hurgronje's conversion had been legal and necessary for him to visit Mecca. Schröder compared Snouck Hurgronje with Muhammad when he returned to Mecca from Medina and made concessions to the Meccan's about the pagan *Kaaba*. Schröder wrote in the article 'Abd al-Ghaffar – Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje' on March 10, 1984, that Snouck Hurgronje kept his conversion secret among his non-Muslim friends.[657]

On June 21, 1986 Van Koningsveld published the article 'Als Moefti vermomd' in the newspaper *de Volkskrant*. In this article Van Koningsveld wrote about some legends that circulated in Indonesia about how Snouck Hurgronje was unmasked as non-Muslim. However, Van Koningsveld did not claim that they were true. One of the legends was that Snouck Hurgronje was revealed as an imposter because he had urinated in the direction of Mecca. Another legend has it, which Van Koningsveld got from cultural anthropologist John Bowen, who had heard that during a public bathing, it had become clear that Snouck Hurgronje was not circumcised. According to Van Koningsveld there were four different versions circulating about Snouck Hurgronje's status as a Muslim.

The first version that Van Koningsveld insinuated on was that of Schröder. Schröder did, according to Van Koningsveld, consider Snouck Hurgronje as fully converted and argued that Snouck Hurgronje had been open about his conversion to fellow Muslims in both Mecca and in the Indies, but had hidden it towards non-Muslims. The second version that existed according to Van Koningveld was in his opinion particularly popular among scholars in Indonesia. These scholars considered Snouck Hurgronje a Muslim and an *Ulama* however, one who used his knowledge for the Dutch colonial government. Van Koningsveld mentioned O. Hasem as an example of such a scholar. In 1968 Hasem published *De onderwerping de Islamitische wereld.*[658] One of Hasem's arguments that Snouck Hurgronje was a 'real' Muslim', was that Snouck Hurgronje according to him did not have any life insurance as it was

[657] Schröder, 'Abd al-Ghaffar – Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje', in: *NRC Handelsblad*, Saturday supplement, March 10, 1984, p. 2
[658] Source not consulted.

not allowed in Islam.[659] B.J. Boland (1916-2003)[660] thought that Islam had to be kept away from politics and wrote 'Moeftie van de Nederlandse imperialisten'. In Van Koningsveld's view such distinction is against the 'orthodoxy' of Islam and therefor not a feasible requirement in Van Koningveld's view.

The third version that Van Koningsveld described was that of Paul van 't Veer who had concluded that Snouck Hurgronje at least had sympathy for a religion (read: Islam) that by most Christians was considered as abhorrent. The fourth view was that of Van Koningsveld himself namely that Snouck Hurgronje acted as a Muslim in both Mecca and the East Indies but that he in reality was agnostic.[661] In 1989, Staal wrote that there is no reason for us to believe that Snouck Hurgronje regarded himself as a Muslim and kept it secret for his European friends. According to Staal, Snouck Hurgronje regarded his conversion as a necessary measure and in his (Snouk Hurgronje's) view not particularly harmful. Staal added that conversions in the 19th century were not always that serious as they might have been in the post-war period. Furthermore, Staal regarded the legitimacy of Snouck Hurgronje's conversion something to be discussed by theologians and not by historians.[662]

Van Koningsveld furthermore speculated about Snouck Hurgronje's choice of name as a Muslim; *Abd Al-Ghaffâr* ('servant of the forgiving'). Van Koningsveld thought that Snouck Hurgronje's choice of name was a proof that Snouck Hurgronje's conversion wasn't sincere. Witkam responded to this in the introduction to *Mekka* (2007) with that Abd Al-Ghaffâr was either a really common or rare name. Besides, in Mecca, Snouck Hurgronje did hang around with a namesake, the doctor 'Abd al-Ghaffâr.[663] Witkam did get information about Dr. 'Abd al-Ghaffâr by his great-

[659] According to Van Koningsveld, Snouck Hurgronje had a life insurance. After Snouck Hurgronje's death, a sum of *ƒ* 5000,- was paid to each of the children. But they were not heirs. See: Van Koningsveld, 'Snouck Hurgronje: Moslim of niet?', p. 118.
[660] Islamologist and pupil of G.W.J. Drewes and worked as a missionary in the Dutch East Indies. Boland was pro an indepenedent Indonesia.
[661] Van Koningsveld, 'Als Moefti vermomd', June 21, 1986, p. 9.
[662] Frits Staal, 'Moeder vindt beter dat ik geen Sanskriet doe', in: *de Volkskrant*, June 9, 1989.
[663] Witkam said that the doctor 'Abd al- Ghaffâr was a namesake of Snouck Hurgronje See: Witkam, 'Introduction', in: Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, 2007, p. 82. Fasseur wrote in a short introduction to an article of Snouck Hurgronje that Snouck Hurgronje had obtained training in the treament of eye diseases in Leiden before he went to Arabia. Only Fasseur mention this knowledge of Snouck Hurgronje. It is not clear whether Fasseur with this reference asserted that the doctor and namesake that Witkam mentioned and Snouck Hurgronje the treater of eye diseases in fact was Snouck Hurgronje himself? See: Fasseur (ed.), *Geld en geweten. Een bundel opstellen over anderhalve eeuw Nederlands bestuur in de Indonesiche archipel*, II, The Hague, 1980, p. 61. Witkam mentions in the introduction to *Mekka* that Gillian Grant in his study: *Middle Eastern photographic collections in the United Kingdoms* (not consulted) made a mistake with his assuptions that Snouck Hurgronje "disguised as a local physician, risked his life by taking photographs...". See: Witkam, 'introduction', *Mekka*, p. 104.

grandson Hashim Hasan Husain Abdulghaffar.[664] Witkam speculated about his choice of name and considered that maybe it came from his rejection of Christianity a long time ago or from his incomplete transition to Islam. According to Witkam there are no verified or legitimate reasons.[665]

In the introduction to *Mekka* (2007) Witkam wrote that in his opinion, Koningsveld put himself in the position of God, when he tried to find out whether Snouck Hurgronje could be considered a real Muslim or not. According to Witkam, someone's beliefs belong to a transcendental deity and can't be explained through rational argumentation. Witkam believes that scholars should stay out of religious inquiry while such can only be attested by God himself.[666] Witkam supported his view by explaining that theoretically you become a Muslim by saying "There is no God except Allah and Muhammad is his messenger."[667] In Witkam's opinion Islam meant to Snouck Hurgronje: "a series of external actions, which are executed under certain conditions to make them legally valid to the norms of God's law".[668] Witkam argued that if a Muslim acts according to the rules, his religious obligations are fulfilled. According to Witkam's view, we cannot prove whether Snouck Hurgronje was a Muslim or not. No Muslim can follow all rules but when someone is being as far as possible a subject to these rules, he is according to Witkam a Muslim: "someone who is subject." [669] Witkam thought that the forementioned despriction certainly applied to Snouck Hurgronje. But was Snouck Hurgronje also to be considered a believer, a *mu'min*? Someone who strongly believes that there is no other true religion than Islam? Witkam argued that this question was not relevant in order to conduct research about Snouck Hurgronje and his life.[670]

In Van Koningsveld's view, Snouck Hurgronje became Muslim *pro forma* to be able to visit Mecca. Van Koningsveld's proof of this pro forma conversion was a sentence that Snouck Hurgronje wrote in a letter on August 1, 1885 to his friend Nöldeke. Snouck Hurgronje had written: "the times, when Christians and other rabble could enter the religious center of Islam without danger, are long over" ("de tijden

[664] Witkam, 'Introduction', in: Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, p. 106.
[665] Witkam, p. 82.
[666] Witkam, p. 80.
[667] Theoretically this is true, but in practice most Muslim become Muslim at birth (C.C.)
[668] Witkam, 'Introduction', in: Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, p. 82.
[669] Witkam, p. 82.
[670] This is confirmed by prof. J.J. Witkam. Conversation conducted with J.J. Witkam on November 10, 2009.

waarin Christenen en andere gespuis het religieuze centrum van de Islam nog zonder levensgevaar konden betreden, zijn reeds lang voorbij").[671] In Van Koningsveld's view, Snouck Hurgronje 'just acted Muslim', something that Van Koningsveld argued to be hypocrite. In Witkam's view, Snouck Hurgronje converted because it was necessary in order to entry Mecca. Witkam argued that Snouck Hurgronje could well adapt to the environment around him and was endowed with common sense. In Witkam's opinion Snouck Hurgronje was able to easily acclimate to most environments in order to achieve his goal. According to Witkam, the most important was thus that Snouck Hurgronje was very adaptable whether it was in Mecca or in the Dutch East Indies. In the East Indies, Snouck Hurgronje was adaptable in both his relation with the indigenous people as with the European population.[672]

Van Koningsveld argued that Snouck Hurgronje had continued his facade as a Muslim and *mufti* in the East Indies. To Van Koningsveld, Snouck Hurgrojne to be a Muslim was just a cover for him and part of his 'undercover work'. Van Koningsveld saw it as a method in order to win trust of the population. To validate his idea, Van Koningsveld cited a letter that Snouck wrote to his friend Nöldeke where Snouck Hurgronje said: "adjustments to the externals to one intellectually inferior society that are necessary in order to be there" ("de aanpassing der uiterlijkheden eener intellectueel inferieure maatschappij, die nodig zijn om daar als mensch te gelden.").[673] This quote served as evidence for Van Koningsveld that Snouck Hurgronje looked down on the Indonesians and that he used all means to use them for his goal.

The European's and the Dutch government knew about Snouck Hurgronje's dual role. On September 21, 1889 there was an occasional protest in the Indian newspaper the Locomotief about Snouck Hurgronje's involvement with the Dutch ruler. Van Koningsveld wrote that compilance was a duty among the European's in the East Indies. According to him, dissidents were silenced or reprimanded.[674]

Van Koningsveld suggested that oriental studies, missionary work and imperialism made up an indissoluble trinity and argued that these three also formed

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[671] Van Koningsveld, 'Als Moefti vermomd', June 21, 1986, p. 9. Primary source: C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Orientalism and Islam. The letters of C. Snouck Hurgronje to Th. Nöledeke*, P. Sj. Van Koningsveld (ed.), Leiden: Rijksuniversiteit Leiden, 1985, p. 8.
[672] This is confirmed by prof. J.J. Witkam. Conversation conducted with J.J. Witkam on November 10, 2009.
[673] Van Koningsveld, 'Als Moefti vermomd', June 21, 1986, p. 9.
[674] Van Koningsveld, p. 9.

Snouck Hurgronje's inspiration.[675] Van Koningsveld focused his attention on Christianity to be of focal relevance to Snouck Hurgronje and concentrated on Snouck Hurgronje's Christian connections. Schröder criticized Van Koningsveld's assumption of trinity. Schröder did agree with Van Koningsveld that Snouck Hurgronje was an Orientalist and imperialist but not with that he also had been a missionary for whom Christianity stood central. Schröder called the whole argument of Van Koningsveld as purely pseudo-science.[676] Van Koningsveld argued that Snouck Hurgronje had an intensive contact with different men of theology and that fact was a proof of Snouck Hurgronje's connection to Christianity and relevant to his opinion. Van Koingsveld claimed that Snouck Hurgronje had corresponded with various theologians as Abraham Kuyper and the reformed theologian J.W. Gunning.[677] Schröder examined the matter of the correspondences with Kuyper and Gunning and found that their correspondence merely consisted of one letter to each of the men, of which the letter to Kuyper only included material for his book and the one to Gunning was purely informational. According to Schröder, Snouck Hurgronje even found Kuyper's book inept. Schröder accused Van Koningsveld for that he had not mentioned this detail and thus did insinuate that Kuyper and Snouck Hurgronje had similar ideas. Schröder added that Snouck Hurgronje corresponded with many various people and the correspondence doesn't proof that the recipients complied with Snouck Hurgronje's opininons.[678]

However, Van Koningsveld thought that Snouck Hurgronje's background perhaps had influenced him and his view on how the church acted towards their sacraments of mercy.[679] He further claimed that the *modern theology* that was taught at Leiden University increased Snouck Hurgronje's skepticism about religion and that Snouck Hurgronje lost his Calvinism in the hypercritical Leiden. Van Koningsveld also thought that this sort skepticism explained why Snouck Hurgronje quit theological studies and instead pursued Semitic philology, Islam and colonial problems.

[675] Schröder, 'Oriëntalistische retoriek', p. 787.
[676] Schröder, p. 788.
[677] Van Koningsveld, 'Snouck Hurgronje zoals hij was', 1980, p. 764.
[678] Schröder, 'Oriëntalistische retoriek', p. 788.
[679] Witkam, 'Introduction', in: Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, p. 16

This in fact laid the foundation of what Van Koningsveld has argued to be Snouck Hurgronje's 'agnostic' way of living.[680] However, Witkam later found Van Koningveld's claim to be too speculative, because according to Witkam, Snouck Hurgronje could have reacted in the opposite way. Recently, the Dutch journalist Maurice Blessing commented on Modern Islamic and Arabic scholars in non-Muslim countries. For his argumentation, Blessing used among others Snouck Hurgronje as an example of something he considered to be common among Arabic scholars in Europe, namely that these scholars, even today, are hesitant to clearly reveal a secular face. In Blessing's opinion a scholar is required to have a critical sense towards its subject.[681] In summary, Van Koningsveld thought that Snouck Hurgronje had been hypocrite by 'posing' to be a Muslim. Witkam argued that Snouck Hurgronje was adaptable to different environments as long as it served his intentions. In Witkam's opinion, Snouck Hurgronje became a Muslim because it was inevitable if he was to pursue his work.

At the time of the debate, there was not much known about Snouck Hurgronje's private life and the years before he returned to the Netherlands in 1906. On February 5, 1983 Van Koningsveld brought news about Islamic marriages of Snouck Hurgronje in the East Indies with an article in the Dutch newspaper *Trouw*. The article was entitled 'Raden Joesoef in Bandung breaks the silence surrounding the Islamic marriages of his father, Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje' ('Raden Joesoef in Bandung verbreekt het stilzwijgen rondom de islamitische huwelijken van zijn vader, Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje') and was on February 6, 1983 also published in the Indonesian newspaper *Kompas*. Van Koningsveld was interviewed in the main newspaper of Jakarta; *Kompas* on January 16, 1983.[682] Van Koningsveld asked in this article why Snouck Hurgronje's own sons on Java had to be satisfied with the lowest level of education when their father argued for education as a necessity for elevating the East Indian society. Van Koningsveld thought that this confirmed that Snouck Hurgronje had been a hypocrite.[683] Later Witkam had commented on the fact of the fate of Snouck Hurgronje's children in the East Indies. Witkam said that probaly it went this way as Snouck Hurgronje was married according to Islamic law and not

[680] A. Vrolijk and H. Van de Velde with introductory essay by: Jan Just Witkam, p. 16.
[681] M. Blessing, 'De Islamquaestie', in: *Trouw; de Verdieping*, 17 February 2007.
[682] Steenbrink, 'Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (1857-1936) en Atjeh', p. 95
[683] Van Koningsveld, 'Snouck Hurgronje's "Izhaar oel-Islaam". Een veronachtzaamd aspect van de koloniale geschiedenis', in: *Snouck Hurgronje en de Islam,* p. 183.

known to the Dutch East Indian officials and because it was an Islamic marriage his children were not recognized by the Dutch law in the East Indies. According to Witkam, Snouck Hurgronje kept his marriages secret towards the Dutch rulers and the Ministry of Colonies, because of that telling probably had meant the end of his career as adviser of the Dutch colonial government. Snouck Hurgronje' career stood at stake[684]

2.5 Multatuli

Multatuli (in Latin it means 'I've worn a lot', was a pseudonym for Edward Douwes Dekker, 1820-1887).[685] He was a Dutch East Indian official and turned writer. Douwes Dekker upheld various positions in the Dutch East Indies. In 1856 Douwes Dekker was appointed Resident assistant in Lebak, West Java. The people of Lebak lived under an oppressive rule, where they were often forced by their own chiefs to provide cattle and labor services, without compensation. Douwes Dekker filed a complaint against Regent Karta Katta Negara, Lebak chief, revealing the nature of his exploitative practices. Douwes Dekker's book: *Max Havelaar of de koffieveiligen der Nederlandse Handelsmaatscahppij* was published in 1859.[686] Multatuli was at the time a predominant voice in the Netherlands to radically criticize the Cultural system in the East Indies and the practice of slavery.[687] Multatuli is generally not perceived as an Orientalist in Dutch literacy but is regarded as someone who was not afraid to criticize the Dutch East Indian administration.

On December 8, 1910 the association 'Het Multatuli-Museum' was founded. It was founded with the intention to collect and conserve Edward Douwes Dekker's books and manuscripts. The collection, which first was kept in the University Library in Amsterdam, was in 1957 moved to his birthplace on the Korsjespoortsteeg in Amsterdam with the intention to open a Museum there. Due to the circumstances the

[684] This is confirmed by prof. J.J. Witkam. Conversation conducted with J.J. Witkam on November 10, 2009.
[685] Eduard Douwes Dekker (pseudonym: Multatuli), official in East Indies, writer of *Max Havelaar of de koffy-veilingen der Nederlandsche Handelsmaatschappy,* Amsterdam, 1860. This book was even discussed in the House of Representatives of the Netherlands (Tweede kamer der Staaten-Generaal). Douwes Dekker wanted to raise the matter of injustice that was committed in Dutch East Indies.
[686] Multatuli, *Max Havelaar of de koffieveilingen der Nederlandsche Handelsmaatschappij*, p. 5.
[687] Kuitenbrouwer, 'De Nederlandse afschaffing van de slavernij in vergelijkend perspectief', transferring from: *Bijdragen en mededelingen betreffende de geschiedenis der Nederlanden*, 93, no 1, 1978, p. 97.

Multatuli Museum on the Korsjespoortsteeg first opened its doors in 1975 and it remains there to this day.[688]

Soon after Van Koningsveld's lecture on Snouck Hurgronje in 1979, Marijnis published the article 'De dubbelrol van een Islam-kenner' in *NRC Handelsblad*. Besides explaining the lecture of Van Koningsveld, Marijnis used Multatuli as an example for good conduct in the East Indies.[689] On March 10, 1984 Schröder published the article 'Abd al-Ghaffar – Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (Mohammed contra Max Havelaar) in *NRC Handelsblad*.[690] Schröder noted in this article that Snouck Hurgronje together with Multatuli (1820-1887) belongs in the circuit of pioneers in Dutch colonial history. What united them, according to his view, was that they both had an interest in the Javanese population of the Dutch East Indies. According to Schröder, Multatuli's primary focus was the Dutch and the Netherlands, where Snouck Hurgronje's focus was on the East Indies. Schröder argued that Snouck Hurgronje knew more about the indigenous population of the Dutch East Indies than Douwes Dekker. Schröder concurred with Snouck Hurgronje's opinion about Multatuli. Snouck Hurgronje criticized Multatuli in *De Gids* of 1908. Snouck Hurgronje wrote that Multatuli had borrowed material from the East Indies in order to use for his own literary work. According to Snouck Hurgronje, borrowing in this case had to be understood as something completely different than to really understand the Indonesian soul.[691] Furthermore, Snouck Hurgronje called Multatuli somebody who had "no soul, no knowledge of the indigenous language."[692]

In a portrayal article of Van Koningsveld in *ZemZem* in the spring of 2009, which appeared in connection with Van Koningsveld's accorded emeritus status, Van Koningsveld mentioned Multatuli as a model for his own view on Orientalism. Van Koningsveld believes that Multatuli can serve as a guideline on how someone should have acted in the Dutch East Indies. Furthermore, Van Koningsveld added that "Multatuli's dislike of orientalism as we know it from Edward Said is his own leidmotief."[693] Schröder did not agree with Van Koningsveld's regard for Multatuli as

[688] >http://www.multatuli-museum.nl/en/museum/collection.html< [Accessed on November 19, 2009].
[689] Marijnis, 'De dubbelrol van een Islam-kenner', in: *NRC Handelsblad*, December 8, 1979.
[690] Schröder, 'Abd al-Ghaffar – Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje', in: *NRC Handelsblad*, Saturday supplement, March 10, 1984, p. 2.
[691] Schröder, 'Abd al-Ghaffar – Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje', p. 2
[692] Snouck Hurgronje, 'Multatuli', 1908 p. 18.
[693] J. Maas, 'Multatuli als richtsnoer. Portret van Pieter Sjoerd van Koningsveld', in: *ZemZem*, vol. 5, no 1, 2009, p. 90.

a beacon of exemplary conduct and position in the East Indies. On the contrary, Schröder was of the opinion that Multatuli was another influential propagator to orientalistic myth of Eastern despotism and used words as enslavement and colonial war.[694] Witkam thought that Multatuli had a lively imagination when it came to describe the indigenous culture in the Indies.[695]

In the book *Nestbevuilers*, Ewald Vanvugt wrote that he believed that Snouck Hurgronje could be considered as Multatuli's counterpart. Snouck Hurgronje wanted emancipation and association for the Indonesian population, which was the opposite of Multatuli's intentions. Multatuli wished for the Indonesians to achieve fair governance but continued to be in support of Dutch presence.[696] It is evident that there is a difference of opinion among Dutch scholars about the role of Snouck Hurgronje and Multatuli played in their reporting of the colony. Van Koningsveld thought that Multatuli served as a good example of good behavior in the East Indies because of his criticism towards the administration. Schröder and Witkam found it groundless to interpret Multatuli as an accurate reporter because Multatuli did not speak any indigenous language and had little knowledge about the indigenous East Indian society were he worked. In addition, Multatuli was not in favor of East Indies independence. Schröder and Witkam believed that while Snouck Hurgronje worked for the colonial administration, he did did have a genuine concern and interest for the people and wanted to portray their society in the right setting. Even though one can argue that it might have been biased; his extensive coverage of their society shows detailed chronicles from his time spent there.

[694] Schröder, 'Oriëntalistische retoriek: Van Koningsveld over de vuile handen van Snouck Hurgronje', 1980, p. 802.
[695] R. Stiphout, 'Snouck Hurgronje: Grootste Islamkenner aller tijden', 2006, p. 88
[696] E. Vanvugt, *Nestbevuilers*, 1996, p. 147.

Conclusion

This thesis has addressed a critical biography on Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje. It has also addressed the perception on Snouck Hurgronje in the Netherlands after the decolonization, with emphasis on the debate surrounding him, which began in 1979, following a lecture by Pieter Sjoerd Van Koningsveld.

Snouck Hurgronje was born in 1857. In 1874 Snouck Hurgronje started his scholarly career with theological studies at Leiden University. A year of Arabic was mandatory for the colloquial of the candidate theology and Snouck Hurgronje also received a candidate degree in the Semitic languages. Snouck Hurgronje continued his doctoral in the Semitic languages and earned his degree in 1879. Snouck Hurgronje followed the enlightened critical scholarship with historical work.

Snouck Hurgronje's dissertation concerned the origin of the *hajj* and was a pure textual research. From the moment he went to Jeddah and later to Mecca as he was largely interested in the everyday lives of Muslims and contemporary Islam. The result of his stay in Arabia was a two-part book *Mekka* that was written in German. *Mekka* also consisted of an atlas of photographs. In *Mekka,* Snouck Hurgronje treated contemporary Islam in the holy city, which was not affected by Christianity or European power (besides through *hajjis* from the colonies) where he recorded the manners and customs of the Meccans and visiting Muslims. New media and photography played a significant role in Snouck Hurgronje's research. Later he also made use of sound recordings in both the Dutch East Indies and Mecca, to which he sent a phonograph.

Between 1881 and 1887, with an exception of leave in 1885 for his travel to Arabia, Snouck Hurgronje kept the position of teacher at the municipal institution of the officials for Dutch East Indies officials in Leiden. Snouck Hurgronje's link with the Dutch East Indies was therefore already established before he went to Arabia. Snouck Hurgronje was interested in the problems and challenges that Islam faced in the Dutch East Indies posed by the Dutch administration. An important part of his visit to Mecca was to gain inside information about the East Indian Muslims staying there. A whole chapter of *Mekka* was devoted to the East Indian Muslims.

In 1889, Snouck Hurgronje entered the service of the Dutch Ministry of Colonies and went to the Dutch East Indies. His post was in Batavia (Jakarta), Java.

From July 16, 1891 until early February, 1892 Snouck Hurgronje stayed in Aceh, inside the Dutch concentrated line. He also stayed in Aceh in 1898-1901. He did linguistic research there and studied contemporary Islamic law. In 1900 Snouck Hurgronje published his linguistic research from Aceh entitled *Atjèhsche Taalstudiën.* This study was of significant contribution to modern phonology. Snouck Hurgronje could communicate in about twelve languages.

Snouck Hurgronje advised the Dutch colonial administration on how to deal with Muslims and gave guidance on Islamic law. Snouck Hurgronje had practical involvement in the colonial project of the Netherlands in his role as advisor in the Dutch East Indies and from 1906 as adviser of the Ministry of Colonies in The Hague. In his role as professor of Arabic at Leiden University he educated a generation of colonial administrators. Snouck Hurgronje formulated an alternative view on Islam then the existing one among the Dutch colonial authority. His view was that the Dutch government should respect Islam on the basis of freedom of religious expression, but on the other hand not allow Muslims to be politically active under the name of Islam. Snouck Hurgronje advocated for a secular Islam and was against political power in the name of Islam. Snouck Hurgronje believed that Islam and Christianity in practice of national life could work very well together, provided separation of Church and State.

Snouck Hurgronje approached Islamic law as it was implemented in contemporary practice, rather then just reading what textual sources prescribed. Snouck Hurgronje was aware of the difference between theory and practice within Islam and he saw how easy Islam had adapted to local custom and that Islam partly consisted of local tradition. He produced a report on Aceh that included customs and beliefs in the region that he had obtained while using photographs as an important medium. Snouck Hurgronje's almost entire career was a first-hand-experience of Muslim societies. Snouck Hurgronje did not regard Islam as something fixed or as one body with only a past but no future. It was precisely contemporary Islam that fascinated him and especially Islam's power and possibility to expand, tolerate and assimilate.

Snouck Hurgronje feared pan-Islam, however, he believed that the pan-Islamic idea of a caliphate was a mediaeval relic and not feasable achievement. Pan-Islam was according to Snouck Hurgronje not a political reality, however he believed that the idealistic notion of pan-Islam was a threat in itself and that it was precisely this

notion that, according to him, was able to cause disturbance especially between Muslims and the non-Muslim world. *Jihad* (in the sense of holy war against infidels) was his main concern of this idealistic notion. Snouck Hurgronje believed that even if there in the last centuries hadn't been any serious claims by a caliphate, it remained a religious doctrine that survived through scripture and therefore he believed the notion of pan-Islam would pose a threat. Snouck Hurgronje believed that the only way to oppose pan-Islamic tendencies would be through education and modernization. In the case of the Dutch East Indies it was primarily an elevation of the East Indies indigenous elite that he had in mind. Once Dutch East Indies had become fully modern and civilized the attractiveness of the pan-Islamic idea would, according to Snouck Hurgronje, wane. Snouck Hurgronje was confident in the advantages of Western education. Snouck Hurgronje believed that the indigenous population was able to modernize and to achieve the standards of the West.

Snouck Hurgronje's view on Islamic policy was part of a broader 'ethical' policy devised by certain liberals. Snouck Hurgronje and these liberals were against prude economic exploitation of the East Indian population and against the doctrine of the East Indies as a region of the Netherlands where only to make profit. These 'ethics' contended *assimilation* into Dutch culture, like M*ission civilisatrice*. The 'ethics' did not have the intention that their policy would lead to the independence of Indonesia.

Snouck Hurgronje's assimilation theory aimed to emancipate the East Indian Muslims through education and forge a more permanent nature between the East Indies and the Kingdom of the Netherlands. Snouck Hurgronje believed that the Dutch presence could be of a benefit to the indigenous population. Snouck Hurgronje developed his Islamic policy on basis of the traditional Islam he had known in Mecca and during his stay in the East Indies.

Snouck Hurgronje's Orientalism was inspired by Enlightenment, Positivism and Universalism. Snouck Hurgronje believed that the Netherlands had come further in the process of civilization and he attributed to the indigenous of the East Indies the same potential. Snouck Hurgronje had a universalistic belief, everywhere for everyone and had a strong confidence in capabilities of the human ratio. He had no doubts about the advantages of modernization for the Indonesians nor about the benefits to the Netherlands by assimilating the Indonesians to Dutch society. Snouck Hurgronje stuck to the conventions in three cultures, namely the Islamic Dutch East

Indies, Dutch East Indies and the Netherlands. Snouck Hurgronje had a kind of modernization mission and he believed that every nation had the opportunity to develop but not everyone had yet done so.

Snouck Hurgronje was enlightened and for him it was a matter of course that he could make judgments on the matter and policies on Islam in the Dutch East Indies. Snouck Hurgronje considered his policies to be universal and his hope was that the Dutch East Indies would follow the path of Western modernized countries. Snouck Hurgronje was a confident scholar and advisor, and assumed that expertise and leadership together could change a situation significantly and did not have any doubt about the usefulness of policy guidance. Snouck Hurgronje had a certain Eurocentrism and his attitude was that Western scholars were best placed to know people of the East.

It seems as though Snouck Hurgronje regarded himself as a scholar advisor equal to politicians, even though he was a representation of knowledge and the politicians of power. Snouck Hurgronje was as scholar advisor in a position where he could distance himself from and criticize policy. This also meant that the political establishment only listened to him when his ideas followed their purposes. Snouck Hurgronje did not provide how the Word War I changed the Dutch politics from liberal to conservative during the interwar period and how he lost influence on policies of the Ministry of Colonies.

In Snouck Hurgronje's early years his work served the colonial policies of the Netherlands, then his work guided its policies until finally protesting against the colonial policies. When Snouck Hurgronje had an opinion that moved behind what was held to be permissible in the Dutch society at that time, he ran the risk to be considered an 'outlaw' and not be taken serious anymore by the politics. In a way he responded to certain problems of the time he lived in.

The first critics of Snouck Hurgronje; Benda, Waardenburg and Wertheim demonstrated Snouck Hurgronje's relationship with the Dutch government and its colonial administration. Benda also gave a detailed description of Snouck Hurgronje's ideas of Islam. Wertheim discussed Snouck Hurgronje's involvement and influence on the Aceh war by the advice he gave to a solution of the war. The first critics considered Snouck Hurgronje as a man of his time. During the vivid debate that started in 1979 following a lecture by P. Sj. Van Koningsveld the participants did not so much disagree over the fact of Snouck Hurgronje's practical involvement in Dutch

colonial politics, rather if his work should be evaluated or not. The participants of the debate did not agree on whether the work of Snouck Hurgronje could be seen as valuable, given his active involvement in Dutch colonial politics. The most controversial issues in the debate were: the status and motive of Snouck Hurgronje's conversion, his Indonesian family and the question whether his scholarly work should be regarded as valuable. In the debate Snouck Hurgronje was assessed against Multatuli who was seen as someone who had acted properly in the Dutch East Indies. What the debate plainly showed was that it was not so much about Snouck Hurgronje's ideas as about how he had acted in an afterwards controversial era of Dutch history. However, the debate offered new biographical insights such as Snouck Hurgronje's Indonesian family. Witkam's comment on the debate in his translation of *Mekka* vol. 2 (2007) made it clear that the debate is still not completely settled.

As a result, it becomes evident that not so much Snouck Hurgronje's idea of Islam or his influence on Islamic policy in the Netherlands was discussed, but rather the morality of his actions and practical involvement in Dutch colonial affairs and how his person should be judged in history. A final comment on about the debate is in order. In the debate Snouck Hurgronje was determined by whether he was right or wrong instead of focusing on what he left behind in the field of Dutch Islamic Studies. Snouck Hurgronje underestimated or ignored the Islamic reform movements in Indonesia and kept by his association policy. The Netherlands is still struggling with Islam but without quoting Snouck Hurgronje policy makers seems to want to integrate (*associate*) Muslims the same way Snouck Hurgronje saw it.

To outline the many-colored life of a versatile personality as Snouck Hurgronje in a MA thesis is a perilous undertaking. I have no illusions that I now understand his deepest sense of beings. I have tried to describe his life, the ideals for which he strove, his virtues, sins and contradictions and about the praise he earned from many and the censure from others. All this can be defined in a text. We can write about it and we can read about it. But despite all correspondance it is not possible to know what he really felt or who he really was. We can be sure about that in Snouck Hurgronje's case scholarly work led to politics and politics led to scholarly work.

Glossary

a

adat: habits, manners

association theory: Snouck Hurgronje believed education to be the appropriate vehicle to co-optive indigenous leadership in the Dutch East Indies. Association theory was basically a system of Co-optation and meant direct cooperation between European officials and the educated (based on European education) indigenous population.

b

bid'ah: innovation in Muslim ritual practice or beliefs for which there is no authority in the practice of the Prophet Muhammad.

bid'ah hasanah: 'a good' innovation, but one denied as valid by many jurists.

f

fatwa: jurist's opinion

h

hadith: traditions of the prophet (Waines, pp. 277).

Hajj: pilgrimage to Mecca.

hanifah: the term in the Qur'an for a true montheist, associated with the prophet Abraham and others from the pre-Islamic time who followed a belief in one God.

haram: prohibited action according to the law.

Haram: a sacred enclave, where fighting was prohibited during four holy months during which lives were hele sacrofant.

hijrah: 622 CE, left Mecca for Medina(Yathrib) /migration

i

'ibadah ('ibadat): act of (duties) worship, including alms, prayer, pilgrimage, fasting.

Ihrâm: state of ritual purity that *hajjis* adopts.

j

Jihad: exertion, striving and usually translated as holy war against infidels; also the efforts directed toward overcoming one's inner passions and imperfections of the soul (called *jihad al-nafs*)

k

Kaaba: the cube-shaped shrine, of pre-Islamic origin, located in the center of the great mosque in Mecca. It is the focal point of Muslims' daily prayers and the annual *hajj*.

kafir: disbeliever

m

madhhab (pl. madhahib): school of Muslim religious law; the four Sunni schools are the Maliki, Hanafi, Shafi'i, and Hanbali.

Mahdi (also called al-Muntazar): the Expected, Awaited one; in Shi'ah belief, the Twelfth Imam, who is at present 'hidden' but whose return will herald the end of time and the immanence of the Day of Judgement.

modern theology: modern theology is a direction in the scientific study of theological issues. It is predominantly practiced outside the chruch at Western universities. Some therefore describes it as academic theology. The revelation has been replaced by the reason.

mufti: a specialist in Islamic law competent to issue a fatwa. Is usually a private person whose advice is sought by others, owing the scholarly reputation and piety of the *mufti's*.

Muhaddith/mujaddid: the traditional renewer of religion toward the end of each century.

n

Naqshbandiyya: reformed Sufi brotherhood.
nikah al'Mutah: temporary marriage or pleasure marriage.
Njai: concubine

p

Penghulu: Originally local headman, but gradually became the title of an expert of Islam/religious official who was appointed by the government. The penghulu was also the President of the court. A Penghulu can also be referred as a *qadi*, albeit the Penghulu just had some of the qualifications of a *qadi* On Java there was a hierarchical division among the Penghulu's.
Religious teachers on Java who were not state officials had different titels in different places on Java (ulama, alim, kijai).
In Aceh only the prophet or *sheikh's* were called *Penghoeloe.* On the rest of Sumatra a *Penghoeloe* was the head of the population.

r

Raden: noble title on Java.

q

qadi: a judge, appointed by the ruler to settle dispte according to the *shari'a*

s

shahadah: the profession of faith, "There is no god but Allah and Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah."
Shari'a: Religious law/Divine will
Sheikh: an elder, chief, teacher, a learned, pious man, a spiritual master.
Shi'at Ali: the Shi'ah; party of Ali.
sunnah: prophetic example, trodden path. Tribal custom of pre-Islamic Arabs; also refers to Allah in the sense of his commands and prohibitions.
surah: a chapter division of the Qur'an, of which there are 114.

t

tafsir, ta'wil: exegeses of the Qur'an. The five main sources of tafsir are the Qur'an, Hadith, Sahaba, Ratio.
tarikah: the Sufi path; a Sufi brotherhood
Tempo Doeloe: 'earlier time', means the period 1870 until about 1920 in the Dutch East Indies and afterwards considered as the peak of colonial life in the Indies.

u

ulama/alim: religious Islamic scholar
uleebelang: 'trader-chief-judges'; local rulers at Sumatra. They were willing to make treaties with the Dutch as they had a relationship that worked for mutual benefits.
Umayyad Caliphate: the second of the four Islamic caliphates established after the death of Muhammad.
Umma: community of believers
umrah: form of pilgrimage to Mecca outside the pilgrimage season during which many of the essential pilgrimage rituals are not performed.

v

verstehen: interpretation; the explanation of appearances in terms of inner values and meanings. Verstehen or interpretation is part of the hermeneutics; the general and systematic theory of interpreting or understanding texts or other cultural expressions.

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- *Musée du Louvre* website
  http://www.louvre.fr/llv/commun/home.jsp

- *Multatuli Museum*
  http://www.multatuli-museum.nl/en/museum/collection.html
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  Project Gutenberg made a digital version of C. Snouck Hurgronje's *Mohammedanism* available in 2003.

- *Victoria College*, Egypt
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Oral history

Conversation with prof. J.J. Witkam, conducted at Leiden University on November 10, 2009.